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The New Castle County Loyalists
*Harold Hancock* 315

William Plumer's Biographical Sketches of James A. Bayard, Caesar A. Rodney, and Samuel White
Edited by *John A. Munroe* 354

News Notes and Book Reports 378

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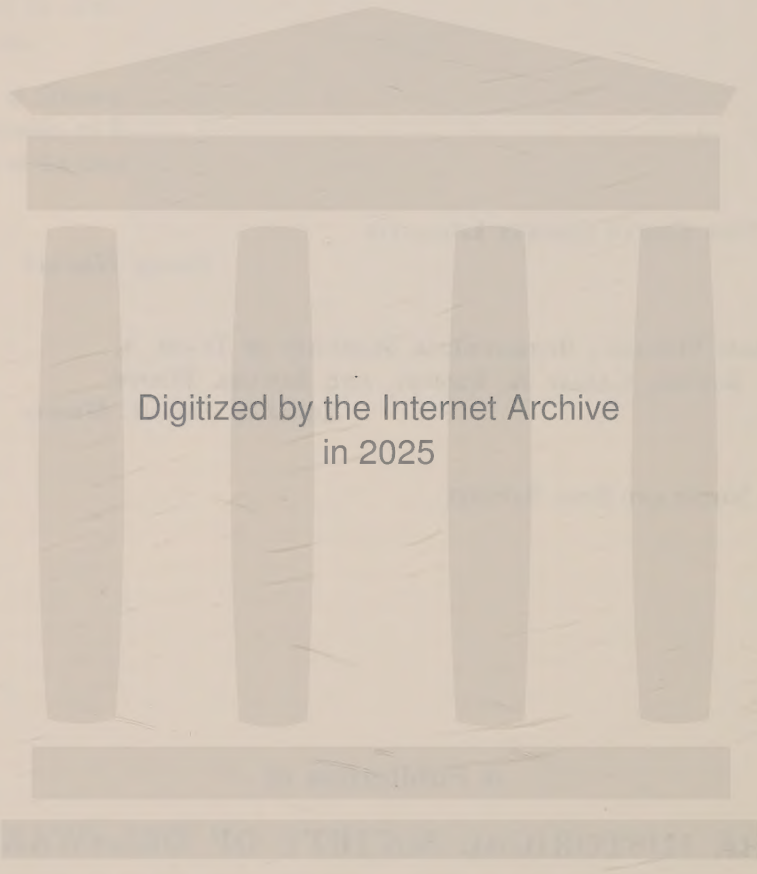

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# *The New Castle County Loyalists*

By HAROLD HANCOCK*

THAT New Castle was the most patriotic of the three counties on the Delaware is amply demonstrated by the testimonies of Whigs and Tories, British and American soldiers, Church of England and Presbyterian clergymen, members of the General Assembly, and exiled loyalists. Reasons for the strength of the patriotic sentiment are easily found in the readiness of the area to accept new ideas, the nearness to the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia, and the large Scotch-Irish population with its accompanying strong Presbyterian church.[1]

Nevertheless, a minority remained firmly attached in allegiance to the king and Britain. It is significant that while the committees of correspondence had their hands full in Kent and Sussex counties in 1775, little opposition to the trend towards separation from the mother country occurred in northern Delaware. At Newark in August, 1775, the famous Baptist minister and historian, the Reverend Morgan Edwards, confessed his regret before a committee of correspondence for the "use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotick struggle for the liberties of America against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry." Later in the same month, Hugh Calhoon, of St. George's Hundred, retracted similar statements, and in the future promised to support resistance. Under the terms of the nonexportation act, an Irish ship at Wilmington in September was refused permission to load freight.[2]

*Mr. Hancock, who is a native of Dover, is assistant professor of history and government in Otterbein College in Ohio. Part of the material for his article was gathered while he was teaching in England.

1. Footnotes are used only when the items are not reproduced in the accompanying documents. This article is based partly upon material in the author's book, *The Delaware Loyalists* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, New Series, No. 3, Wilmington, 1940) in which appear *passim*, illustrations of these opinions and sentiments.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

The two Anglican clergymen in the county were placed in a difficult position by the turn of events, especially as they looked to England for financial support. The Reverend Aeneas Ross of New Castle kept his church open during the Revolution, apparently by omitting the prayers for the king and royal family; his brother signed the Declaration of Independence; and to his sister-in-law is attributed the making of the first American flag. When the secretary of Lord Howe came off a British ship stationed in the Delaware River to attend a service in 1777, he noted that Ross read the liturgy, but that one of Mr. Wesley's preachers prayed for the king.

More difficult was the situation of the Reverend Philip Reading at Appoquinimy. As early as March, 1775, he wrote to England: "Many are the rebuffs I am obliged to encounter on the subject of the present commotions, notwithstanding which I am not deterred or discouraged from inculcating the principles of Loyalty to our most gracious Sovereign and a due submission to the powers of Government on all proper occasions." With eleven other clergymen he signed a letter to the bishop of London in October, 1775, stating that they were working for a "speedy and permanent reconcilation between the Mother Country and her Colonies." "No more passive obedience and non resistance" was scribbled upon his church door in March, 1776, and the captain of the militia was admonished for lugging his company to church on a public fast day to hear "that old wretch (*meaning myself*), who was always an enemy to the present measures." Public opinion forced the closing of his church on July 28, 1776, as he refused to alter the form of the prayer, and while he continued to perform the other duties of his office, apparently he never preached again, dying in 1778.[3]

When Howe's forces marched through the county in the fall of 1777 and temporarily occupied Wilmington, and British vessels appeared in the Delaware River, many residents revealed their sympathies for the British cause by fur-

3. William Stevens Perry (ed.), *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1871), II, 469, 481, 482, 485; Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1947), pp. 22-25, 39-43; Hancock, *Loyalists*, pp. 9-10, 45, 46.

nishing information or supplies from conviction or for money. A British officer stationed off the town of New Castle in October, 1777, observed that the people in the three lower counties "are certainly well-affected in general, and have brought us large supplies of everything wanted."[4] The dockets of the New Castle courts in the subsequent winter were jammed with a multitude of cases concerning the disaffected. Charles Bryson was indicted for saying "That he had dealt with the enemy & would do it again and that he had taken Protection Under the Crown & would Defend it." His bond of £300 in November, 1777, was posted by himself and David Finney, the justice before whom he was charged. Jesper Beeson revealed that many of his friends, as well as himself, had sold cattle to the British; as late as 1783 he was still petitioning for payment. Jacob Derickson, John and William Almond, Joseph Judson, and Joseph Wilson were charged with the offense of trading. William Foot was accused of selling meat to the English in Wilmington and of declaring that he would so again; he asserted that as long as "the English was well Supplyd, and the Whiggs—it is no matter if they (Whigs) did Starve, it was the best way to bring them too." Jacob Van Dergrift sold potatoes, turnips and one hog to the crew of the British ship "Diana." Barnaby Laragan sold cattle to the British army and navy. Caleb Sheward and John Vanluever posted bonds of £500 and £100 respectively for having participated. An informer disclosed that William Hazlet in October, 1777, declared that the British never attacked a place unless they took it and also referred "in a laughing manner" to the rebels making "the old Miller (Patterson) a General." John Connelly, laborer of Brandywine Hundred, in February, 1778, captured Jacob Vernon and took him captive to Philadelphia. The bill of indictment in October, 1782, accused him with a charge frequently used, i. e., for his "not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved & seduced by the institutions of the Devil as a false rebel & traitor intending the afsd.

4. B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783* (n. p., n. d.), XXIV, No. 2068. Ambrose Serle to the Earl of Dartmouth, Oct. 28, 1777.

government to subvert & reduce the same to the domination of the King of Great Britain."[5]

One intriguing letter in almost illegible writing in the Public Record Office in London was written by James Wilson of Christiana Bridge, telling of his removal to Juniata, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1777 during the midst of these disturbances. He mentioned account books and household goods, which he had distributed among friends in Wilmington and at Christiana Bridge. The canoe in which he was carrying some personal effects sank, and they were lost or damaged during the ten days of their submersion. The contents of the letter and a marginal note in a different handwriting signed "T. M." suggest that Wilson was a clerk in a county office and that he was writing to Theodore Maurice, a Penn appointee to several offices.[6]

At this critical period in the affairs of the new state, with even President McKinly captured, Thomas McKean was summoned to head the government. To a friend he wrote that he had delayed accepting the easy office of Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, in order to "step forth to save 'a poor & distressed State' without a head, without a shilling, public records & papers in possession of the enemy, together with their capital & principal trading town; the militia dispirited and dispersed, many of them fled out of the State for safety, and a majority of the rest supposed to be disaffected to the glorious cause we are engaged in."[7]

To deal with this crisis of disaffection and low morale, the General Assembly in June, 1778, passed an Act of Free

5. New Castle County, Court Papers: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1777, 1778, 1780, 1782 (MSS in the Delaware State Archives, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware); *Delaware Archives: Revolutionary War* (Wilmington, 1919), III, 1306-8.

6. American Loyalist Transcripts (MSS in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware). These documents were photostated for the Society by the author from the originals in the Public Record Office, London, England. Judge Richard S. Rodney suggested that "T. M." referred to Theodore Maurice and that the letter was probably addressed to him.

7. George Herbert Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 241-42. Thomas McKean to Caesar Rodney, Oct. 15, 1777. A letter containing an almost identical statement was written by McKean to S. Patterson, Oct. 7, 1777 (MS in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

Pardon and Oblivion, which provided for forgiveness for most loyalists but exempted from pardon forty-six persons, twenty of whom came from New Castle County. From Brandywine Hundred were listed Jacob Derickson and Joshua North, both late captains of militia; William and John Almond, husbandmen; and James Welch, yeoman. In New Castle Hundred were named John Watson, practitioner in physic; Christian Smith, laborer; (Abraham?) Hackett, weaver; John Drake, late innkeeper; Isaac Conner, cooper; John Greenwood, cooper; and Thomas Nodes, cordwainer. Added to the number were Isaac Atwood, practitioner of physic and comb maker; and Isaac Simmons, laborer, both from Christiana Hundred. From Wilmington came William Buchan, late innkeeper, and Christopher Wilson, coppersmith. Charles Gordon had practiced law in St. George's Hundred, while Joseph Judson and Abraham Anderson of Appoquinimink Hundred were classified as mariners. The name of Alexander Foreman, tailor from Pencader Hundred, concluded the list.[8]

Fragmentary details concerning these twenty appear in a variety of records. Jacob Derickson, William and John Almond, and Joseph Judson, as has been mentioned, were indicted in the New Castle courts for selling cattle and supplies to the British. The wife of Derickson and his three children in 1780 each received an award of one thousand pounds from the sale of his estate, which brought £7,374 Pennsylvania currency. Part of the award was spent to buy articles at the public venue of the Derickson household goods, and the remaining £3,726 was liquidated at 100 to 1 for sterling, the total of £37.5.3 being a significant commentary upon the state of the continental currency.[9] William Almond posted £3,000 bond in September, 1778, to guarantee his appearance in court; the court sold ten acres of marsh land owned by John Almond.[10] Dr. Isaac Atwood in October, 1777, with a group of followers including Isaac Simmons, plundered the homes

8. *Laws of Delaware* (New Castle, 1797), II, 636-38. June 26, 1778.
9. New Castle County, Court Papers: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1778; Court of General Sessions, 1780 (MSS in the State Archives). A complete inventory of the estate on Sept. 22, 1778, is filed with these papers, Miscellaneous File, Folder No. 306a.
10. *Ibid.*: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1778; Court of Common Pleas, 1780; Court of Claims Docket (MSS in the State Archives).

of several residents of Christiana Hundred. Goods were seized from the homes of Robert Galbreath, Samuel Walker, and John Harcourt. Later Atwood became a captain in the King's American Regiment, served in Georgia, and in August, 1783, was petitioning Carlton for aid; Delaware sold his Negro man.[11] Congress ordered the seizure of Charles Gordon along with Judge Thomas White in April, 1778. His estate sold for £245. An act of the General Assembly in 1787 restored the confiscated property of James Welch; his wife Margaret was summoned to testify against Joshua North. Christopher Wilson's estate brought £4,850, and part of it was purchased by his wife. The Court of Quarter Sessions granted four hundred pounds to Mrs. Wilson and two hundred pounds to each of five children; the administrator of her estate in 1787 finally accepted the grant.[12]

The wealthiest loyalist in the state was probably Joshua North, who lost personal and real property, which sold for £38,439. On September 1, 1777, he was taken before President McKinly of Delaware and accused of advising the country people not to join the American army, but was freed as the President was a relation to him. He then fled to Philadelphia but returned to his home for six weeks after the battle of Brandywine. During the British occupation of Wilmington he was accused of delivering three young Continental soldiers into the hands of the enemy. He then withdrew to Philadelphia, where he remained until the British departed when he was captured and paroled at his home. By a trick he was placed in the New Castle goal for nine weeks before being released on £3,000 bail. He decided to join the British army in Georgia, making a trip of eleven hundred miles by horseback, four hundred of which were over snow-covered ground, and he slept in the open. He furnished the British with intelligence about the movement of American troops before Savannah in 1779 and became a deputy commissioner of forage. In 1783 he was in England, urging consideration of his claims amounting to £4,392 sterling. His final award was £3,090

11. *Ibid.*: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1777; Hancock, *Loyalists*, pp. 62-63.
12. *Ibid.*: Court of Quarter Sessions, 1780; Court of Common Pleas, 1780; Court of Claims Docket (MSS in the State Archives).

and a pension of £30. His wife was offered £3,000 by the Court of Quarter Sessions in 1780 if she would cancel a marriage contract.[13]

An interesting group of loyalists appeared in the town of New Castle. John Watson, a British naval surgeon, in company with some of his fellow officers, had been impressed with the beauty of a Miss Yeates, married the girl, and settled in the town about 1767. Ten years later, he joined the British army at Brandywine, leaving a medical and drug practice, which he valued at £1,000, a figure which Thomas Robinson disputed. With Thomas Slater of Newport, Dr. Watson also fitted out an armed galley in 1778 to take prisoner by surprise "some of the most troublesome and inveterate Rebels of their Acquaintance," though the vessel was soon lost. He also temporarily promoted an Association of the Loyalists of the county. For three years in New York he served as a mate in the General Hospital at five shillings per day. With three other mates of the hospital in October, 1778, he petitioned Sir Henry Clinton for rations for their wives and children. In 1784 he was in England, applying for relief and urging a settlement of his claims.[14]

For twenty-four years Theodore Maurice had resided in New Castle and had come to hold the most considerable and lucrative offices in the three lower counties, being Register for the Probate of Wills, Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, and Comptroller of the Customs, which provided him with an income of about £800. Although solicited to remain, he despaired of seeing a return of allegiance to the king and

13. *Ibid.*: Court of General Quarter Sessions, Feb. 23, 1780. Report on aid to Loyalists' Wives and Children (MS in the State Archives). Among those summoned to testify against Joshua North at the October term of the Court of Oyer and Terminer in 1778 were Margaret Welsh, Thomas Bird, William Tussey, and John Pyle. North furnished £2,000 of the bond and James Robinson, £1000. *Ibid.*: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1778. For the final settlement, see Audit Office Records, Vol. 109 (Public Record Office, London). Margaret Welsh's last name is sometimes referred to as "Welch," just as Christopher Wilson is sometimes referred to as "Joseph Willson, coppersmith of Wilmington," and Jacob Derickson's name is sometimes spelled "Derrickson."

14. Mrs. Watson and Mrs. Drake had an unfortunate experience, for in leaving New Castle by boat they were fired upon, and the latter wounded in the neck. The William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, contains an undated memorial asking for an appointment as mate, and a petition signed by Watson and three mates asking for rations for their wives and families, dated Oct. 26, 1778.

British government, surrendered the seals of his offices, and received permission from Caesar Rodney to depart for England, sailing in June, 1778, for his mother country. Lord Howe's secretary, who visited New Castle in October, 1777, recorded an interesting conversation he held with Maurice.[15] In England he received a pension of £50 and also worked in the muster office for £50. He submitted claims for various book debts. Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, commander of the "Roebuck," and Richard Penn wrote supporting letters for his claims.

According to the testimony of Maurice, John Drake of New Castle was "an honest inoffensive Creature," who worked in the office of the recorder of deeds and also kept a small public house. He joined Howe's army at Brandywine, and then acted as a clerk on several British ships until the end of the war. He lost household furnishings valued at £57.9. In 1787 he was in England, requesting a settlement of his claims, which were eventually settled at their full value.

James Dawson, trader, lived at Christiana Bridge from 1762 to 1775, but to avoid mustering moved to Philadelphia. He served with the British army at Trenton, Brandywine, and Charleston. At the conclusion of the war he went to Jamaica, but shortly thereafter went to England. His losses included household goods, deerskins, indigo, an armed vessel, and textile looms, totaling £1,433.2 Sterling. William Wilson, of Philadelphia, and Daniel McDongald, of North Carolina, supported his claims. In England he received an allowance of £25.

After the distressing winter of 1777 and the mopping up of British sympathizers that followed, affairs became less critical in Delaware, though occasional incidents of disaffection occurred throughout the war. A detachment from General Smallwood's post at Wilmington captured about forty British sailors and officers in lower New Castle County in March, 1778. At the suggestion of Congress in April, a puni-

15. Tatum, Edward H. (ed.), *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, 1776-1778* (San Marino, Calif., 1940), p. 257.

tive expedition seized two British naval officers, eleven marines, and seventy Tories at Jordan's Island. Duck Creek was the center of activity for residents from lower New Castle County. Caesar Rodney in May, 1778, regretfully noted at Dover, "We are Constantly Alarmed in this Place by the Enemy and Refugees and Seldom a day passes but Some man in this and the Neighbouring Counties is taken off by these Villians, so that many, near the Bay, Who I know to be hearty in the Cause, dare neither Act nor Speak least they Should be taken away and their Houses plundered—" He concluded this letter by adding that he had just heard of the seizure of ten residents near Port Penn, who were carried on board the enemy's vessels.[16]

That all residents of New Castle County were not sympathetic with the American cause was shown in 1780 by the case of James Johnson of Red Lion Hundred, who was placed under bond of £10,000 for expressions of disloyalty on the written testimony of three witnesses. He was willing to bet one hundred dollars that the British had captured Charleston. "If it was not taken, he wished to God that it soon might [be] then the Americans would be Don and subdued and then we should have good times once more." He also "Damd the Congress and all the Law makers" as well as those who had taken the oath of allegiance, which he would never take.[17]

Occasionally, incidents of great cruelty occurred, when the refugees bore personal grudges against their prisoners. A band of refugees seized Robert Appleton, an unpopular constable of lower New Castle County, in 1783, maltreated his brother, and carried off the former a captive. At Bombay Hook they were joined by one Captain Brooks, and five other pirates, who ordered him to preach a Methodist sermon, they having discovered he was a member of that sect. Upon his refusal Brooks ordered him to be whipped to death for a "damned rebel" with a rope over an inch thick, called a colt.

16. Hancock, *Loyalists*, p. 35: Ryden, *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney*, pp. 267-68. C. Rodney to T. McKean, May 8, 1778.

17. New Castle County, Court Papers: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1780. (MSS in the State Archives).

The refugees, alternately, beat him until he was exhausted, forced him to destroy his official papers, and made him promise that he would never serve the rebels again. He was released at Through-Fare Point on Duck Creek, where the refugees burned the houses at the landing and destroyed twenty cords of wood. A few weeks later when attempting to serve a warrant at Bombay Hook, he was again beaten.[18]

When the news of the American victory at Yorktown arrived, the citizens of the town of New Castle "to manifest their joy erected a flagpole near the state-house, on which were hoisted the American continental colours a little above those of the British." Thirteen platoons of muskets were fired, the town illuminated, and toasts drunk. When the British flag blew down, it was regarded as a happy omen.[19] Gayer festivities took place in the town in April, 1783, when news of the completion of the peace negotiations arrived. Drink and food to the amount of £251 were consumed, for part of which sum a tavern keeper later petitioned the legislature.[20]

The problem of what to do with the returning loyalists soon appeared. Of course the great majority of the small loyalist element in New Castle County had never left. Court records reveal that loyalists, such as Christopher Wilson and William Almond, gave bond and remained in Delaware after the passage of the Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion in June, 1778. Joshua North, John Drake, Theodore Maurice, and James Dawson seemingly remained in England. Jacob Smith of Brandywine Hundred, who enlisted with the British forces in 1777, sailed for Nova Scotia from New York in 1783, but had returned home by 1785.[21] James McKeever, formerly of Wilmington, bought space in a Baltimore newspaper in 1783 to tell the narrative of his imprisonment by the British to counteract the story of his sympathy for the British cause told by a

18. *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), Mar. 1, 1783: T. McDonough to S. Patterson, St. Georges, Feb. 24, 1783 (MS in the Library of Congress, Van Dyke Papers).

19. *Freeman's Journal* (Philadelphia), Oct. 31, 1781.

20. *Delaware Archives*, III, 1482-84.

21. Charles William Heathcote (ed.), "Diary of Jacob Smith," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LVI, 264.

Philadelphia resident; so that his return to his home might be facilitated.[22] When a brig arrived in Wilmington in June, 1783, with its master Thomas Rawlings, formerly a resident of Delaware, who had joined the ranks of the enemy, the magistrates directed him to depart by nine o'clock the next morning.[23] After the President reviewed the Fifth Delaware Regiment in June, 1783, its members in convention resolved that until the Assembly voted on the Peace Treaty refugees would not be permitted to return "as worse than robbers or even common murderers, — as men hardened in utter disaffection to their native country"; returning loyalists were to be given two days' notice to depart.[24] The state treasurer's accounts in 1783 indicated that William McClay had sold confiscated property amounting to £52,642 Pennsylvania currency, but the exchange rate in sterling was much less. Joshua North's estate brought £38,439, Jacob Derickson's £7,374, and Christopher Wilson's £4,850. Part of the revenue was spent to support the wives and children of the exiled loyalists. Intentions to bar the loyalists from ever returning and from all civil rights did not last long. The confiscated property of James Welch was restored by a private act of the General Assembly in February, 1787. In 1790 a general act restored to all former loyalists full citizenship, though no general return of property was made.

Thus on the whole, New Castle County had fewer loyalists than the rest of the state. The loyalists from the county in the excepted list were an interesting group, including examples of the well-to-do, officeholders, professional classes, sailors, and traders. Most of them revealed their disaffection in connection with the opportunity to sell produce or cattle to the British in the fall of 1777. Internally, the pressure of the dominantly patriotic population and, externally, interference from Maryland and Pennsylvania militia and continental troops contributed to making it the most patriotic county.

22. *The Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), July 22, 1783.

23. *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), June 21, 1783.

24. *Freeman's Journal*, June 25, 1783.

## *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the New Castle County Loyalists*

Mainly from the papers in the Public Record Office in London, with some additions from the Delaware State Archives and the private collection of Judge Richard S. Rodney, materials have been assembled to demonstrate the nature of the New Castle County loyalists. The most important source was the depositions made before the British commission concerning losses and hardships.

The New Castle loyalists are impossible to classify collectively as to occupation and wealth, for they represented almost every class and condition of society, as demonstrated in the preceding pages. In their own style of writing they plead their case more eloquently than can any account based upon the evidence they left behind them. If things had turned out differently, their descendants in Delaware today might boast of being members of the UEL (United Empire Loyalists), and nothing would have been heard of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution.

### *The Flight of James Wilson*[25]

Juniata, Derry Township
Cumberland County
St Pennsya.
Novem. 17th. 1777

Dear Sir—

That night after I seen you, I went to Christa. Bridge, where my people follow'd me, with what Goods I had left, & being afraid, set off next morning for this place & reach'd little Elk that night, the Bloody Flux being voilently [*sic*] upon me, staid till Monday Sept. 29th, where having the opportunity of a Carriage for the goods, I was put in my Cart, (not being able to ride, or stir) was carried so to Middleton on Susquehanna, where I sent for two Doctors, who after some days trial, was by them & myself thought past all Signs of Recovery, however one of them (Dr. Lennon) used some Gentler means, & betwixt two and three weeks, was carried on for Juniata, where in about a Week from Middleton we arriv'd, but thro' the Cold, Rain, & bad Lodging after I came up, caught a great cold, which fell on the old pain in my breast

25. American Loyalist Transcripts (Photostatic copies in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware).

& was past all hopes of recovery, [the following was crossed out in the original: when I came to my own little place & friends was very ill treated by them, but was kindly received by an old acquaintance viz Wm Armstrong (who was the witness for me in the Action H: C . . . I live in a little Castle I have] but thank God am now beginning to mend, & stir about & has got a little appetite, but everything is so very dear. I have hard living & providing for my five Creatures, Wheat being 15/p/ Bushel, Rye 20/ & Indian Corn 7/6. Beef 1/, Whiskey 20/), no Butter, no Cheese, tow. linen 9/ p[er] 1/d. &c. but here I must reside this winter tho' I dont like the Country. I intended to have left my Family here & return'd myself there this fall, but neither myself nor Horses are able, but has thoughts of going down there sometime next Spring, if anything offers.

I suppose you got your Fee Book from Coll. McDonnel or Major Morrison (Atr. Mollison) which was in a black Trunk, in which also was the box with all the Accounts drawn out and fil'ed, Mr. Tills, Mr. Dunns, & Mr. Goldens Fee books, & my Act. book these Major Morrison always promis'd to give me, I wish you could get them, there was also in sd. Trunk Mr. Montgomery's Dockets, Bonds, etc, Sheriff Clarks Doqt. & Mr. Bedfords Fee book, also your two books which Treats on Wills Cash book etc. there was also in one of the Pidgeon [*sic*] holes in the Desk I us'd to write at, along side of your Gold Weights, a Bond due from Jno. Eves decd., to Mr. Tills Estate, which Mr. Wm. Hamilton left with me to receive from Jno. Lewden, admer, please inform Messrs. Hamilton's thereof.

Coll. McDonnel or Major Morrison kept my Chaise or riding Chair, Top, Harness &c. they had all the lining tore off, with the Intention I suppose to have it new done it was put in Matthew Crips's back Yard, & as I have heard the English has left Wilmington perhaps they have left it, I hid a French Musket in Richd. Denny's Stable in Wilmington under the Dung, he lives in Mr. Brooms House, also two pair of [undeciferable] &c. left with us, & I am due him for his Cart Saddle brot away & use of his House for some days— I left a new Scythe with Mrs. Drake—I left where I lived at Christian Bridge under care of Mr. Glasgow Tanner a Hay-Stack, half a Field of Potatoes Pumpkins & Beans, also was left there a Garden full of Sundry's, a Grindstone in the Garden, Boards covering a Chair House; in the House a Cupboard, Wheel-barrow Rakes, & sundry things in the Cellar, Garret, &c.

I also left about a Cart-load of Goods in Robt Kirkwoods Barn such as Bedsteads, Chairs, &c. Danl. Murphy said he would bring them to his House.

I left about a Cart-load of Goods at Harmon Greggs Widows House,

also about a Cart Load of Goods at Abram Greggs, I humbly request your care & Assistance about the above.

I forgot to mention that my goods was brot. up in a Canoe from Middleton to this place, but the Canoe sunk, whereby most of them was spoil'd and some lost, being ten days in the water.

And now what shall I say, or render to you, for your unbounded kindness & favors to me, as also in procuring my deliverance, I pray God to reward you for I'm not able.

Pray give my kind love to Mrs. Clay, Family, Dukey, & friends there, & my Dear Sir

Your most Respectful
Humble Servant,
Jas. Wilson

P. S. Please favor me with a few lines, direct for me near Coll. Arthur Buchanan at the old Town, to the care of Wm. Lyons, Esqr. in Carlisle.

[On the margin in a different handwriting is a note, which reads:] Majr Mollison was a London Merchant who travelld with Col: McDonald & assisted him in Civil Matters to whom Mr. Maurice applied for his Books; but the Troopps movd before he could get them. T. M.

## *Memorial of Joshua North*[26]

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parlt. for enquiring into the Losses and Services of the Amn. Loyalists.

The Memorial of Joshua North late of Brandywine Hundred in the Province of Pennsylvania No. America farmer and one of the People called Loyalists.

Sheweth

That your Memst. was born in America and before the breaking out of the late unhappy Dissentions in America was absolutely possessed in fee Simple of a Capital Messuage or farm House built of Stone and brick Containing four Rooms on a Floor and being two Story high, besides the Garretts with a Garden, Yard, Peach Orchard containing upwards of 300 Peach Trees, with a Barn, Stable and Cow House, a Coach house and Granary with other Outhouses belonging to the same, standing on 3 Acres of Grod. And also 80 Acres of Arable and Pasture Land on high Cultivation and 29 Acres of Woodland adjoining to the said Messuage and which sd. Lands were inclosed with

26. *Ibid.*

Fields of 10 Acres each with good Wooden Fences. And also of 20 Acres of Ditched Meadow and 15 Acres of Upland about a Mile distant from the said Messuage which said 35 Acres were inclosed with good Wooden fences and Ditches in small Lotts—Which said Messuage or Farm Ho. and 112 Acres of Land adjoining to the same were advantageously situated within a Quarter of a Mile of the Town of Wilmington and a Navigable River on which there were ten Mills for Grinding Corn within a Quarter of a Mile of your Memsts. House, whereby your Memst. was always enabled to dispose of the produce of his said Farm on the best Terms.

That your Memst. was also possessed of the Household Furniture, Corn, Grain, Hay, Cattle, Negroes and Farming Utensils mentioned and set forth in the Inventory hereunto annexed.

That your Memst. was possessed of the sd. Messe. or Farm Ho. Land Household Furniture and other things before mentd. until the 1st Septr. 1777 when your Memst. was taken Prisoner in his own House by a Lieut. and twelve Men of the Wilmington Militia belonging to Congress, for having hindered the Country People from joing. the Continental Army and carried before the Governor, who being a Relation of your Memst. let him go to his own house again from whence your Memst. got his Writings and fled to Philadelphia [(]and from thence after the Battle of Brandywine on 11th Septr. in which the British Army was successful) Your Memst. returned to his own House, where he remained for six Weeks till the British Army left Wilmington when your Memst. went with the British Army from thence to Philadelphia as he apprehended if he Staid there the Continental Troops would again take him Prisoner. While your Memst. was at Philadelphia the British Army went out one afternoon as it was generally imagined to attack the Enemy instead of which they pushed directly over into the Jerseys. And your Memst. was a second time taken Prisoner by a Continental Officer who gave your Memst. a Parole to go to his own House. Soon after which a Mr. Finney a Judge of the Court for New Castle County invited your Memst. to dine with him and at Dinner he told your Memst. that he must go to New Castle Goal, to which he was conveyed under a Guard where he remained nine Weeks, when your Memst. was released on two of his Friends giving Bail in the Sum of £3,000 for his Appearance at the Court in October 1778 whereupon your Memst. appearing, a Bill of indictment was found against him for having apprehended two Spies of Congress who came into Philada. while the British Army was there and for endeavouring to persuade one Joseph Marshall to go with him to join the British Army and for that your Memst. himself went armed to join the British Army at Wilmington and for having Conveyed

three deserters from the Continental Army for your Memsts. House to the British Army after the finding of which Indictment your Memst. had 5 days to appear for Trial, when he was advised by his Lawyers never to appear again, as they thought the Jury were determined to bring him in guilty, but before the Expiration of the five days a Proclamant. being issued from the Commissioners from Great Britain that if any Judges Juries &c should take the Lives of any of his Majestys Subjects they should have no pardon the Court broke up and did not sit again till the 29th March 1779 and in that time your Memst. made his Escape into Carolina where he staid some little time and from thence to Savannah in the whole about 1100 miles which Journey your Memst., who is now 60 Years of Age, was obliged to travel on Horseback without any Servant least he should betray him, for 400 Miles of which Journey your Memst. did not see the Ground for Snow, and at times was under the necessity of erecting a Temporary Hut of Saplins [*sic*] and Pine Tops in the Woods to Sleep in and tying his Horse to a Tree as he did not dare to go to any House for fear of being taken Prisoner.

That it cost your Memst. to pay his Lawyers and for his Expences while in Goal and during his Journey to escape out of the Enemies hands in which he laid and was obliged to part with three Horses £150 Sterling.

That your Memst. hath been informed and believes that the said Household Furniture and Personal Effects were either Sold or destroyed by the Continental Troops that came to his House & that some time in the year 1779 his Estate was sold by Order and for the use of Congress.

That as your Honours are appointed to enquire into the Services of such Persons who have suffered by the late unhappy Dissentions your Memst. begs leave to represent to your Honours that Major Genl. Prevost his Majestys Commander in Chief at Savannah has been pleased to favor your Memst. with a Certificate left herewith that previous to the Action at Savannah in which his Majestys Forces were Victorious over the Enemy who were greatly superior in numbers, that while your Memst. was on his Journey to join the British Army in Order to avoid the Prosecution commenced against him he settled a Correspondence with Major Moore (who had formerly been a Major in the Continental Army and who then resided beyond Augusta on Savannah River) for the purpose of the Majrs sending out Spies to watch the motions of the American Army then coming against Savannah and that about 3 Weeks previous to the Appearance of the American Army before Savannah, your Memst. Gave the Genl. the first Intelligence that they were coming and that your Memst. got his Information by the Correspondence he had opened with Major Moore, who had himself been out and recognitered

[*sic*] the Country and that after the Genl. had received such Information your Memst. went with the Genl. N. Ebenezer [to] one of the Outposts 25 Miles distance from Savannah to give Directions to two Spies that the Genl. ordered to go to Major Moores to get such further Information of the Enemys Situation and Strength as he might be able to Communicate, but on account of the Continental Army being posted between Savannah & Majr Moores they were not able to reach the Majors House And that in Conseqce. of your Memsts. Information the Genl. was the better enabled to call in his Forces and to put them in a proper Situation before the Enemys Approach for which Service your Memst. hath not yet received any Recompense or Reward Whatever.

That your Memst. afterwards Served in the Capacity of Deputy Commissary of the Forage at Savannah and Charles Town a Certificate of his good Conduct without Employment he has also got from the Deputy Commissary General.

That when Charlestown was evacuated in 1782 your Memst. left that Place and went in a Ship appointed by Government for Conveying the Loyalists to East Florida and from thence in July 1783 he came to England in the Mesieria Capt. Glidd—a Ship Appointed for conveying Loyalists hither and arrived in England the 27th August 1783 Where your Memst. has ever since resided.

Your Memst. therefore Prays that his Case may be taken into your Consideration in Order that he may be enabled under your Report to receive such Aid or Relief as his Losses and Services may be found to deserve.

SCHEDULE

| | Sterlg. |
|---|---|
| Capital Messe. or Farm Ho. built of Stone & Brick Contg. 4 Rooms on a Floor and being Two Storey high besides the Garretts with 4 Cellars underneath the same with a Garden, Yard, Peach Orchard, and a Barn, Stable, Cow house, Coach house, and Granary with other Outhouses belongg. to the same Standing on three Acres of Land | 954 |
| Negroes, One Man One Woman & three Boys | 108 |
| 80 Acres of Arable & Pasture Land in high Cultivatn. at —— p. Acre | 1440 |
| 29 Acres of Woodland at —— p. Acre | 522 |
| 20 Acres of ditched Meadow at —— p. Acre | 360 |
| 15 Acres of Upland at —— p. Acre | 270 |
| Household Furniture Linen &c | 158 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Horses Cattle Stock Farming Utensils &c | 460 |
| Expces. in defending a Prosecution Commd. agst. him for his Loyalty | 135 |
| | £4392.15.11 |

Novr. 2d., 1786

Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of Joshua North The Claimant Sworn

Memorial read, which he confirms upon Oath

A Native of America—when the Troubles broke out he lived on his Farm at Brandywine 26 ¾ Miles from Phila., the farm was his own — joined the British Army at Wilmington a few days after the Battle of Brandywine went to Phila. and remained there while the British Troops staid there — on the Evacuation of Philadelphia he went to his home — remained there on parole till January 1779 he having been taken up and was to have been tried but his Friends advised him not to stand Trial but to come off. — he then went to the Carolin's, never Conformed to the Americans in any Manner.

In 1779 he was appointed Depy. Commissary of Forage at Savannah and he had the same Employment at Charles Town — he continued with the British during the War — his Pay at Savannah was 3/ p. day and 5/ p. day at Charles Town — on the Evacuation he went to East Florida with the Fleet and from thence he came to England in August 1783 —

Has an allowance from the Treasury of £80 p. ann.

Certificates to Loyalty from

Major Genl. Prevost

Lt. Col. James Chalmers

Jno. Morrison Depy. Commissy. Genl. of Charlestown

PROPERTY

A Capital Messuage or Farm House &c Standing on 3 Acres of Land

TITLE

26th Novr. 1762 Certified Copy of Conveyance from Mary Empson to Joshua North for two Tracts of Land sit. in Brandywine Hundd. New Castle County Delaware contg. 114 ¾ Acres Conson. £650 Curry.

1764 Certified Copy of Conveyance from Jonathan Hulings and Wife

to Joshua North for a Tract of Land sit. in Brandywine Hundred contg. 11 ¼ Acres — Conson. £57.17.6 Curry.

Claimant declares upon his Oath there is a Mistake in the Certified Copy of a Deed from Mary Empson the number of acres should have been 135 ¾ instead of 114 ¾.

Says there were about 10 or 12 Acres Cleared when he bot this Land — immediately after the purchase he began to make the Improvements — everything of the Buildings were Compleated above a Year before the War—The House Garden Orchard &c Stood on 3 Acres of Land.

80 Acres of Arable Land Says the whole of this Land was Cultivated— he values them at £30 p. Acre — he was offered £40 an Acre to build on before the War —

29 Acres of Woodland The Wood was fit for Ship Building and exceeding fine — Values the Woodland at £30 p. Acre.

15 Acres of Upland Says this was a Mile from his house — this was Pasture Land and exceeding good with a Stream running thro' it.

20 Acres of Ditched Meadow He values this at £30 p. Acre it was exceeding good Meadow —

Says he was offered £5000 Currency in the year 1775 by one Jonathan Daws for the whole of the preceeding Property but he refused to Sell it

Says if he had been inclined to have Sold it in 1774 he is Certain he could have got more than he has Charged for £5910. It was a Stone House four Rooms on a Floor two Storey high

The above four Tracts are included in the Deeds from Mary Empson & Jonan. Hulings.

Negroes——Says he had a Man a Woman and three Boys one abt 4 years old anor. about 3 years and the third about two years, he Values the man woman and three Boys at £180 Curry. or £108 Stg.

Says they were all taken by the Americains [*sic*] from off his Plantation —

Says he had household Furniture Linen &c worth £265 Currency or £158 Sterling —

Says he had . . . . . Horses, Cattle, Stock, and farming Utensils and sundry otr. Articles of psonl. property valued at 741 Curry, or £460 Sterling

He paid £225 Currency to Lawyers in defending a Prosecutn. commenced against him while Confined in Goal for his Loyalty.

There was no Mortge. or Incumbrance on his Property

Produces authentic Copy of indictment for Treason against the State.

Claimant owes £200 on Bond in America.

Says his Estate was sold by the State of Pennsylvania in May 1779 —

## *Accusations against North*[27]

[November, 1777?]

Honble. David Finney Esqr.

At your Request I Acquaint you that the Enemy were in Wilmington I met three lads about 19 Years old on the Philadelphia Road traveling toward Wilmington. I learned from them that they were Privates under General Washington, had been seperated from the Army in a Skirmish, That their Parents lived near Dover, & that they were on their way home to them.

I told the Lads they must alter their course or they would go directly into the enemy's Garison, & directed them to cross Brandywine above, leave Wilmington on the Left & to cross Christiana at the Bridge.

After I left them Joshua North met the sd. young lads, brought them to Wilmington & delivered them to the Enemy. He also complained to the Enemy of me for directing the sd. Lads in a Way to go round their Garrison. This conduct as I stood Circumstanced They considered as a capital Crime & that a Court Martial would find me for the same Guilty of Death.

Moles Patterson

## *Memorial of John Watson*[28]

To the Commrs. appointed by Act of Parliament to enquire into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

### The Memorial of John Watson

Humbly Sheweth

That your Memorialist was settled on New Castle on Delaware where he made all the opposition he could to the Rebellion & was therefore mobbed and insulted by the People of the Town — That he embraced the first opportunity he had of making his Escape from the power of the Rebels whose principles and Actions he abhorred, and joined his Majesty's Army at the Head of Elke then under the command of General Sir William Howe with the utmost Zeal for the Royal Cause with an intention of rendering it every Service in his power at the risk of his Life and fortune and with a firm determination to sink or swim with the British Government in the Colonies.

That at Head Quarters at Aitkens Tavern pencader hundred he gave

27. New Castle County, Court Papers: Court of Oyer and Terminer, 1777 (MSS in the State Archives). Reproduced with the permission of the State Archivist, Leon deValinger, Jr.

28. American Loyalist Transcripts (Photostatic copies in the library of the Historical Society of Delaware).

Information to his Excellency Genl. Howe respecting the Roads and Nature of the Country towards Philadelphia —

That he conducted the late brave Major Ferguson then commandg. the British Riflemen in two Excursions into the Enemys Country —

That at Philadelphia in the spring of the year 1778 your Memorialt. in Company with Mr. Thomas Slater a Loyalist from Newport in the Government of New Castle Kent and Sussx fitted out at their joint expence an armed row Galley and Manned her with 20 Refugees for the purpose of attacking some of the Rebel boats in the Delaware and taking prisoners by surprize some of the most troublesome & inveterate Rebels of their Acquaintance.

That your Memorialist embarked on board the aforesaid Galley and cruized 12 or 14 days in the Delaware during wch time they had some smart Skirmishing with the Rebels and took prisoner a certain Traitor Robert Taylor who was afterwards exchanged for Mr. Vernon who was under sentence of Death for his loyalty in Philadelphia Goal — That on their returning to Port it was then apparent that the evacuation of Philadelphia was about to take place, it was therefore determined to bring the Galley round with the Fleet to New York but as things were preparing for the Voyage Agent Laird & Agent Barker took the Galley and employed her for about 10 days in loading a Vessel with Ship Timber and afterwards sent her w[i]th a load of Baggage &c belonging to the Army to the Jersey Shore, where the Sailors put into her by the Agents, threw the Guns overboard and burnt her, notwithstanding Mr. Slater went went [*sic*] frequently to the agents and to the vessel endeavouring to obtain her again but to no purpose, being often told that Government must be first served.

That your Memorialist promoted an Association of the Loyalists of New Castle for the purpose of assisting & supporting his Majesty's Government which was however soon overset by the withdrawing the King's Garrison at Wilmington, the news of the Surrender of General Burgoyne and the evacuation of Philadelphia —

That within about two or three Months after finding that your Memorialist had joined and adhered to his Majesty's Troops the whole of his Effects were seized on by three or four different parties of Armed Militia Men and Continental Soldiers commanded by their Officers and afterwards were disposed of and applied to their own use except two Chests of different Articles which were got off from New Castle by the Assistance of a Lieut. of the Navy sent on Shore with your Memort. by Captain Hammond then commanding his Majesty's Ship Roebuck.

That your Memorialist was hereby reduced from a State of considble.

prosperity (as will appear by the certifyed Schedule of his Effects annexed) to the most distressing circumstances and had no other means of supporting a Wife and three Children for almost three Years in New York than five Shillings a day, for serving as Mate to the General Hospital a consciousness however of having acted from the best of Motives a sense of Duty & a warm Affection for his King and Country bore him up under his severe Misfortunes and he never applied for or received any allowance from Government but what his service in the Hospital entitled him to, excepting only 40 Guineas by order of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton between Mr. Thomas Slater and himself to reimburse them for the like sum wch they paid for fitting out their armed Galley independent of the Hull which they took from the Enemy.

That the practise of your Memorialist in Physic and Surgery at New Castle yielded him £1000 Pennsylvania currency per annum & was encreasing when he joined his Majesty's Troops —

That the Assembly of the Delaware State as it is now called have long ago passed an Act of Attainder against your Memorialist because he preferred a Union of the British Empire as formerly to the unhappy separation now taken place.

That your Memorialist always made it a point from Motives of Loyalty and Humanity diligently to Assist in the line of his profession all poor and distressed Refugees when hurt or Sick who made application to him which was done by great Numbers of his fellow Sufferers in the Cause of the British Government without expecting or receivg. any other reward than self approbation —

Your Memorialist therefore prays that you may be pleased to take his Case into your Consideration in order that your Memort. may be enabled under your report to receive such aid or relief as his Losses and Services may be found to deserve

And as in Duty Bound &c

J. Watson

SCHEDULE

Amount of Personal Property consisting of Stock in Trade,

| | |
|---|---|
| Household Furniture &c | £300.10.6 |
| Do of Debts | 609. 0.9 |
| | 909.11.3 |

To his Loss in being deprived of his Business at Newcastle from 24th Augt. 1777 to January 19th 1784.

Feb: 10th: 1784

Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of John Watson Claimant Sworn —

He went from Scotland to America in the year 1767. Says he was settled as a Physician Surgeon and Apothecary at Newcastle on Delaware — In 1777 he took an active part in favor of the British Government till which time he had remained quiet — Says he had publickly expressed his Sentiments and in the beginning of 1777 he was mobbed and insulted for being what they called a Tory —

When Sir Wm. Howe landed at the head of Elk he was forced to go out with one of their Regiments to avoid being sent to Goal, and with a view in his own Mind of escaping to the British — He accordingly did escape the day after he left Newcastle and joined the British Army at the Head of Elk on the 24th. August 1777. He continued with the British Army during the rest of the War, and attached himself to Major Ferguson's Corps of British Riflemen. he acted as Surgeon to that Corps till it was totally cut up at the Battle of Brandywine. He received pay as a Mate of the Hospital very soon after he joined the British, about a month afterwards. the pay was 5s. a day. The pay was afterwards raised to 7s. 6d a day but he never received any pay at that rate.

Says being well acquainted with the Country he conducted Major Fergusons Corps in two Expeditions into the Enemy's Country —

He fitted out a Galley in conjunction with a Mr. Slater at Philadelphia to make Reprisals upon the Rebels who had seized upon all he had. about 10 days after the place was evacuated & his Galley was taken up by the Agent to assist in the Evacuation—

Says he continued Mate of the Hospital and received 5/s. a day till September 1780 when he was promoted to be Apothecary to the Hospital at 10/ a day, and Rations. This Appointment was made at New York. He has received the 10s. up to the 24th December last. He has been in England since the 29th December last and does not know whether he is reduced upon half pay —

Property. Says he had a very large Shop at Newcastle with a Laboratory. Says that he lost Medicines Shop Furniture and Instruments to the Amount of £173.12 Sterling which he left behind him when he quitted Newcastle.

He also lost Household Furniture Cloathing and Provisions to the Amount of £65.13. a new Riding Chair, 2 Horses and one Milch Cow which were worth together £59.14 Sterling. Says he values all these articles at prime cost.

Swears there is due to him from divers Persons in America to the Amount of about £606 Sterling.

Says at the time he was obliged to quit his House and for two Years before his professional Emoluments amounted to upwards of £600 Sterling.

Affidavits of Ann Drake, George Yeates, and John Norman sworn before a Notary in New York as to the amount and value of the property of Claimant lost.

Thomas Robinson Colonel of Militia of the Sussex County upon Delaware Sworn

Says he had some knowledge of claimant before the War. Knows he lived at Newcastle and practised Physic there. At the Commencement of the Troubles he was called a Tory and believes he was always Loyal The first particular acquaintance he had with the Claimant was when he joined General Howe's Army in 1777 at the head of Elk. He was a very active man and was always ready to give any Assistance in his power.

Says he knows he was made Apothecary to the Hospital, and believes it was on Account of his good behaviour.

Remembers Claimant residing at Newcastle as a Practitioner in Physic, but dont know whether he was in a very extensive Business. Believes a Person might in that Business get £1000 Currency per annum, but should hardly think Claimant would get so much.

Claimant again —

Produces Commission signed by Sir Henry Clinton dated 6th September 1780 appointing John Watson Esquire Apothecary to the Hospitals in North America.

Also an Act of the Delaware State passed June 26th 1778 intitled "An Act of free Pardon and Oblivion &c, out of which Claimant (amongst others) is excepted.

## The Story of Dr. Watson's Courtship: From the Diary of William T. Read[29]

August 31, 1853. Mrs. Wooster called this morning. She has lately returned from Europe. Inter alia said Dr. Watson—who married a daughter of John Yeates her father by his first wife daughter of Reverend George Ross—was a British Naval surgeon. Mr. Yeates lives on Morvan Farm (now of Dr. Leslie and used to walk up by the river shore to church with his family. As they passed up one Sunday, Dr. Watson was lying on the river bank with other officers and was so struck by the beauty of Miss Yeates that he followed her to see where she would go in, and she entered the house of Mrs. Read,

29. MS diary of William T. Read. Reproduced with the permission of the owner, Judge Richard S. Rodney, president of the Historical Society of Delaware.

her aunt, my grandmother. He sought an introduction to the young lady and married her. He practised physics in New Castle and Dr. A. Alexander studied with him. He had several children by Miss Yeates and finally left New Castle and returned to Europe. I am inclined to think he was a Scotchman, but not sure of this. One of his sons some years ago was in New Castle, but I did not see him, probably not then residing there. . . .

Mrs. H. Ritchie informed me her father, Dr. A. Alexander, studied with Dr. Watson who left New Castle during the Revolutionary War on account of his Toryism. Dr. Alexander was in the battles of Brandywine and Trenton, and told her he slept without any tent and having one night a fence rail for his pillow, found when he attempted to rise in the morning, his hair (then worn long) frozen to it. He assisted, she added, in dressing the wound received by General Lafayette at Brandywine.

## *Memorial of Theodore Maurice*[30]

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliamt. for enquiring into the Losses & Services of the American Loyalists

The Memorial of Theodore Maurice late of Newcastle on Delaware Esquire

Sheweth

That your Memorialist resided near 24 Years in the Government of the Lower Counties on Delaware during all which time he held considerable Civil Employments under the Government. That he constantly and invariably preserved his Attachment and Allegiance to the King and the Constitution, & continued to reside there till he dispaired of seeing them restored, and then left that Country solely for that reason, and on no other Account, having been earnestly sollicited both to continue there and to retain his Offices, but he has not any particular Services to boast of.

That at the Dissolution of the King's Authority there, he was possessed of the first, the most considerable, and most lucrative Offices in that Government, being Prothonotary of the Common Pleas for the County of Newcastle, vide No. 1: and Register for the Probate of Wills &c, vide No. 2—which on a low average produced him between 6 & 700£ currency per Annum, that besides the above he was Comptroller of his majesty's Customs in the Port of Newcastle aforesaid—vide No. 3, with a Salary of £50, Sterling and some small Fees. That on the Usurpation of Government and his refusal to hold them under such Authority, the two first Offices were disposed of by the new established (vide No. 4) and the latter has been since discontinued here.

30. American Loyalist Transcripts.

That the chief part of his Property consisted in certain Book debts due to him on account of his Offices to the amount of near £2000 Currency, two thirds of wch he might at least have looked upon as good Debts, wch books, together with the Records of the County were taken at Wilmington by the King's Troops and destroyed at Philadelphia. That the rest of his property he disposed of there. That he did not, nor does owe any debt or debts there, and, that despairing to see the Constitution restored, he came from thence, by the permission of the ruling powers (vide No. 5) when the King's Forces left the Delaware.

Your Memorialist therefore (having no Property here, and being near 58 Years of age) Prays that his case may be taken into your consideration, in order that your Memorialist may be enabled under your report, to receive such aid or relief as his Losses may be found to deserve

Theodore Maurice

SCHEDULE OF LOSSES

| | Currency |
|---|---|
| Produce of Prothonotary's Office Comms. Anni | £520 |
| Do. of Register for Probate of Wills & grantg. Letters of Administration &c at least | 150 |
| Sallary of Comptroller's Office £50 Sterling | 83.6.8 |
| Fees in Do. about | 30 |
| Annual Income, Currency | £783.6.8 |
| Book debts lost about £1800 Currency Two thirds of which deemed good is | 1200 |

The above in Sterling at 66 2/3 is £700 anne.
Income in Sterling is £469 and some Shillings —

Theodore Maurice

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Janry. 26—1785

Evidence on the foregoing Meml. of Theodore Maurice The Claimant Sworn

A Native of England. Went to America in 1754 to Pennsy. & continued in America till the breaking out of the Troubles.

He at that time held the following Offices vizt.

Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of New castle—No Salary—Emoluments from Fees about £520 Currency per Annum.

Register for the Probate of Wills—No Salary—Emoluments from Fees £150 Currency Annually.

Comptroller of the Customs—Salary £50 Sterling per Ann: Fee and prer[e]quisites £30 Currency.

Computes the annual Amount of the whole at about 466£ Sterling.

Never took any active part for the King. his Situation & time of Life prevented him.

Never took the smallest part with the Insurgents altho' repeatedly sollicited and offered to be continued in his post if he would barely acknowledge their Government.

Quitted America the 18th June 1778, not from Compulsion but from despair of seeing the King's Government restored, and being determined not to live under the usurped Governmt, when it seemed likely to be firmly established.

Produces certificates of Loyalty and good behaviour from Richard Penn Esquire formerly Governor of Pennsylvania dated November 19th 1783.

Is asked how he could continue so long in the Country after the breaking out of the Troubles without Molestation.

He says he was fortunate enough to be much esteemed by the people there and the Leaders were his Friends & very moderate People. He considered himself whilst he was permitted to continue among them as under parole in point of honor not to act against them, Altho' he never was called upon or threatened by them or anything exacted from him by the Americans. He once went on board Sir Andrew Hammond's Ship who inquired if he wd. give any Intelligence to wch he answered as he has before mentioned that he thought himself in some Measure under Parole, but that if he really did know any Thing material (wch was not the case) he wod. come altogether on board and communicate it.

Produces Cert. of Loyalty dated 21st 1778 from Sir A.S. Hammond He received ye Salary of his Office of Comptroller up to 1782. Till that time he received 25£ a year Pension from the Treasury—From that time he has received £50 per Ann: Produces Appointment as Prothonotary under the Hand & Seal of Govnr. John Penn dated 19 May 1766.

Appointment of same date signed as above as Register for the Probate of Wills.

Appointment as Comptroller of the Customs at Newcastle under ye hands & Seals of the Commissioners of the Customs at Boston dated 2 November 1770. All the aforesaid Offices were during pleasure—but commonly held for life.

States Debts amounting to £720 Sterlg. to be due to him.

Says they are all Book Debts for Fees of Office—as it was usual to give Credit for Fees.

Says his Office required a good deal of Attendance & he can safely declare on his oath that he has rather under than over rated the value of them.

He is Deputy to Mr. Jenkinson in the Muster Office by which he makes about £50 a year. This comes out of Mr. Jenkinson's Pocket not out of Government's.

Joseph Galloway Esqr. Sworn

Knew the Claimant in America before & since the Rebellion. Considered him as averse to the measures of the Insurgents. Thinks he might remain there quietly without trimming—as they were moderate People in the Delaware Government—There was throughout the War a Majority of the Assembly in favor of retaining their Allegiance, but it was a small Govt. surrounded by larger ones & incapable of acting of itself.

Thinks the prothonotary Office must be worth above £400 a year Curry. clear of Clerks wages.

The Office of Register of the probate of Wills—worth above £100 Curry. p. ann:

The Salary of Comptroller was £50 Sterlg. pr. ann: but what were the Emoluments besides the Salary he does not know.

Says all over America there were necessarily debts due for fees, without any Negligence in the Officers.

Andrew Allen Esqr. Sworn

Was well acquainted with the Claimant in America. believes there never was the least exception to his Loyalty.

Is in General acquainted with the Offices he held & that they were reckoned the best in the Country, but cant speak to the particular value of them. From the Claimants stile of Living the Emoluments of his Office must have been considerable as he lived well & in an expensive way.

Says the offices required a great deal of Duty & attendance.

Maurice Surrenders the Seal and Papers of His Office

In the House of Assembly of the Delaware State,

Friday, A.M. Feb. 21. 1777.

On Motion Resolved,

That the Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of New Castle do deliver the Seal of the said County used in his Office, unto the Honorable the Speaker of the Council, the same Seal being estab-

lished as the Great-Seal of this State until a new one is made and delivered to the President and Commander in Chief, and then it is ordered that the Seal aforesaid be re-delivered to the Prothonotary.

Sent for Concurrence.

In Council Eodem Die
Read and concurred in

Geo. Read. Speaker.

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Extract from the Minutes,

Jas Booth Clk of ye House of Assembly

Recd. this 21st Feb. 1777 of Theodore Maurice Esquire Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas for New Castle County the Seal of the said County used in his Office in pursuance of the resolve of the General Assembly afsd.

Geo. Read Speaker of the Council

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Wilmington, March 12, 1777

Sir

As Gunning Bedford Esqr. has been duly appointed Prothonotary or principal Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of New Castle, and Richard W. William Esqr. Register for the Probate of Wills and granting Letters of Administration within the same County, to whom Commissions have been issued for those Offices; These are to require you to deliver up to the said Gunning Bedford and Richard W. William respectively all the Books and other Writings in your Custody and belonging to the said Offices: For which this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

I am Sir,
Your very humble Servt.
Jno. McKinly

To Theodore Maurice Esqr. late Prothonotary and Register for the Probate of Wills &c in and for the County of New Castle

### Maurice Prepares to go to England

Delaware State SSt.

Whereas Theodore Maurice of the Town and County of Newcastle Esquire hath represented to me his desire to leave America and go to Great Britain of which he is a native, There to reside in future and hath requested my Permit so to do. And whereas it appears to me that Mr. Maurice hath

no real property in this State: Therefore This is to Certify whom it may Concern That I have given Permission to the said Theodore Maurice to leave this State and to take with him his Effects Consisting of his wearing apparel and Household Stuff or such part thereof as he may Think fit for the purpose aforesaid. Given under hand & Seal at Arms at Dover this Sixth Day of May One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Eight.

Caesar Rodney

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Sir

You are hereby requested to cause Theodore Maurice Esquire to be Supplied with Sheep, fowls and other Articles for his Sea Store from hence to England as you shall think necessary for a person of his Rank.

Caesar Rodney

Dover May the 6th 1778

To B. General S. Patterson

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New Castle County June 8th 1778

Permit agreeable to the within order to Theodore Maurice Esqr. the following Articles to go the Town of New Castle and thence on board the Vessel he takes his passage to England Viz.

1 large hair Trunk
2 black ditto
1 port manteau [contai]ning his wearing apparel and papers
Six sheep & 2 Lambs with a little hay
Seven Shoats
Three or four Dozen fowls
50 lb: Butter
a Box of Eggs
1 small Case Spirits
10 or 12 bushels Indin Corn two barrels flour
a few bottles of wine

Saml. Patterson B.G.

To all whom it may Concern—

### Testimonies to Maurice's Character

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for enquiring into the losses and Services of the American Loyalists &c.

I do hereby certify that Theodore Maurice Esquire late of New Castle on Delaware is a Person well known to me—that I consider him as a Gentle-

man of the Strictest Probity and Integrity and am Confident the utmost reliance may be placed in his veracity and Assertions. That this is not only my own Opinion but uniformly that of all his Acquaintances.

I do also Certify that the said Theodore Maurice held some considerable Offices under my Family in the County of New Castle and though I cannot precisely ascertain the value of the Emoluments arising from hence Yet I have always understood and verily believe He derived an Income therefrom fully adequate to a very Genteel Support and that it was deemed a very ample provision for a Gentleman to live upon—And I am of Opinion that from the Request and Estimation the said Offices were held in, the Annual Value is not over rated at six or seven hundred pounds Currency.

Richd. Penn

Cavendish Square [London]
Novr. 19th 1783

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I do hereby certify, that as well from the personal knowledge I have myself had of him, as from the concurrent Testimony of the most respectable Inhabitants & Friends of Government in this City, I have good reason to believe that the Bearer hereof Theodore Maurice Esqr. Comptroller of his Majestys Customs at Newcastle on Delaware & late Prothonotary & Register of Wills in Newcastle County, hath ever been esteemed an Upright diligent & faithful Officer. That from his loyal attachment to Government, he has been deprived of those offices which had afforded him an easy & comfortable Support; and by some other unfortunate accidents has lost the most of his Property; and that I do think full credit may be safely given to what he may assert in relation to himself & his affairs.

Given onboard His Majestys Ship the Roebuck under my command at Philadelphia

A. S. Hammond

[Philadelphia] 21st May 1778

## *Memorial of John Drake*[31]

To the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for enquiring into the Losses & Services of the American Loyalists

The Memorial of John Drake late of Delaware Counties
Sheweth

That your Memorialist was an Inhabitant of the Town of New Castle upon Delaware for 9 years before the commencement of the late unhappy Dis-

31. *Ibid.*

sentions, during which time he kept a Public House and was also employed in the Office for recording of Deeds whereby your Memolst. provided a comfortable Livelyhood for himself & Family.

That your Memorialist having been found Zealous in supporting the Rights of the Crown and in advising the people to keep firm to their Allegiance, for which he was pointed at & on that account hearing that his Person was no longer safe was obliged to fly for protection to his Majesty's Army under the command of General Sir Wm. Howe and in a few days after carried a particular account of the Defeat of the American forces on Board his Majesty's Ship Roebuck (then in the Delaware) which Ship he continued in and acted as Clerk during that Campaign and untill the arrival of Lord Howe with his Majesty's Ships, &c in July 1778 in the Vicinity of New York when your Memorialist was under the necessity of residing for some time on shore wch was owing to an accident that happened to his Spouse (previous to the evacuation of Philadelphia) who in attempting to get on Board a Vessel in the Delaware off of New Castle was forced upon by upwards of 20 of the Militia of that place when (in company with Mrs. Watson's Spouse to Dr. John Watson Apothecary to his Majesty General Hospital) the former received a wound from a Musket Ball in the back part of her Neck, which she still suffers under to the great anxiety of yr. Memlst.

That from the latter end of August 1778 untill the conclusion of the War Your Memost. continued in His Majesty's Service in expectation to see the Affairs of Government return to their own Channel & during which time was employed in his Majesty's Navy Victualling Office at New York His Majesty's Sloop Scorpion and His Majesty's Ship Adamant in which Ship he being seized with the Rheumatism (from the severite of different Climates) he was sent to Plymouth Hospital the latter end of Janry. 1783 where he continued for Cure during 23 Weeks to no effect, and he has been ever since afflicted with that disorder so as to render him Incapable of getting a Livelyhood and since his arrival in England he has been chiefly supported by the Benevolence of his Friends

That from a loyal Attachment to His Majesty's Royal Person & Family and to the British Government yr. Memolst. relinquished all his Prospects, Claims & Property in America and by an Act (of that Colony) passed on the 27th of June 1778 against your Memorialist and many worthy loyal Characters therein mentiond, whereby he is not deprived of the abovementioned Benefits, but likewise of all other Priveleges [*sic*] & thereby it is made Felony and High Treason punishable with Death, and he is totally excluded from the common Rights of an English Subject; for no Crime, nor any thing what-

soever having been alledged against him Memorialist but his Loyalty to the best of Sovereigns and the British Constitutions.

Your Memolst. therefore prays that his Case may be taken into your conson in order that your Memolst. may be enabled under your Report to receive such Aid & Relief as his Losses & Sufferings may be found to deserve

John Drake

SCHEDULE

referred to in the foregoing Memol.

| | |
|---|---|
| A Bed Furniture &c Compleat | £10.10 |
| A Do. 4£ A Do. £3 | 7. |
| One Desk £3 one Do. £1.5 | 4.5 |
| One Cloaths Press £2.2 corner cupboard 15/ | 2.17 |
| Large Walnut Dining Table £1.16-3 Do. small Do. £1.10 | 3.6 |
| One Tea Table £1.1 one Do. 12/ | 1.13 |
| One Stand 9/ 7 Windsor Chairs £3.3 | 3.12 |
| The Globe on two Maps canvased with Rollers | 1.10 |
| 2 Doz. Chairs 1/6 ea. £1.16 | 1.16 |
| 15 Pictures at 2/ ea. | 1.10 |
| 3 Setts of Hand Irons, Shovels & Tongs 1 at £1.1 & 2 at £1 | 2.1 |
| One Cow £2.14 one Horse £5.15 including Briddle & Saddle | 8.9 |
| Kitchen Furniture consistg. of divers Articles at the lowest computaon | 9. |
| | £57.9.0 |

April 28th 1787.

Evidence on the foregoing Memol. of John Drake The Claimant sworn Memorial read—He confirms the truth thereof
Certificates to Loyalty from

Sir Andw. Snape Hammond Capt. of the Roebuck.
Mr. Mason Purser to the Roebuck
Capt. Osborn of the Scorpion
Henry Davies Agent Victualler at N. York
Capt. Graves of the Adamant

Kept a Public House at Newcastle upon Delaware. Born in Ireland. Was forced out to muster with the Americans previous to ye Declaration of Independence, never mustered afterwards. Never was out upon Service with them. Never took any Oath to them.

He joined the Army the day of the Battle of Brandywine. Produces a Pass dated Septr. 15th 1777 signed by Capt. Knight Sir Wm. Howe's Aid de Camp.

Two days afterwards he went on board the Roebuck and was from that time in the Sea Service & Quarter Master Genls. Department at New York.

Has no Allowance from the Treasury. Has been occasionally employed since he came to England, but is now out of employ.

PROPERTY

Says in April 1776 he broke up Housekeeping & distributed his Furniture into the Houses of different Friends, meaning to join the Kings Army or the Fleet. He never recovered any part of it except one Bed. Knows not what is become of the rest. He never recd. a Shg. for any part of it. From the time of his quitting Home till Sept. 1777 He was skulking about from House to House — Charges £50 Sterling for the whole.

Theodore Maurice Esq. Sworn.

Knew the Claimant for many years and always considered him as a Loyalist. He was an honest inoffensive Creature & kept a little Public House.

Believes his Charge to be reasonable. He remembers his coming from on Board the Roebuck to endeavour to get his Things but was fired upon and prevented.

## *Memorial of James Dawson*[32]

To the Commissioners appd. by Act of Parlt. for enqg. into the Losses & Services of the Amn. Loys.

THE MEMORIAL OF JAMES DAWSON

Sheweth

That your Memst. was for the space of 16 years as Subject to the British Government and Constitution in the above province and did in obedience to Lord and Genl. Howes Pron. join the Royl. Army in the year *76* which occasioned the Loss of the Major part of his property on the Critical removal. That he taking an active part with the British Army when in Philadelphia was thereby on the Evacuatn. obliged to retire with them to New York where he joined in the Expedn. formed against the Southern Colonies under the Command of Genl. Campbell and Provost, acting under their Conduct until the Reductn. of Georgia, when he received permission to go to New York in quest of his Family but unluckly got Captured on his passage and Carried amidst his Enemies to Philadelphia prison where he was continued in close durance the space of *15* Mths. untill by petition was Exchanged by order of Adml. Rodney.

32. *Ibid.*

That after his Enlargement he again joined his Majestys Troops in Charlestown in an Expeditn. against North Carolina under the Command of James Henry Craig Esqr. by whom he was intrusted with the Dispatches to Earl Cornwallis then in Virginia on which Buss. he had once more the Misfortune to fall into the hands of his Enemy wherewith the Loss of his Vessel and Cargo he was confined in Irons the space of Thirty two days. That being again enlarged by Col: Craig he again joined the North Carolina Militia under Col: Fanning and McNeile, where his sufferings and Services were fully proven until the Evacuatn. of Wilmington when he returned with the Troops to Charles Town and that he finding that Garrison to be evacuated also made applicatn. to Genl. Lesslie for a Passage to the Island of Jamaica, where he suffered much through necessity &c. That in coneqce. of a peace takg. he could get no manner of Employment and having his all exhausted had no other recourse for a Livlihood but to leave the Island with others of his Majestys Suffering Loys. for Great Britain in hopes of redress from Governmt.

That he is now an object worth your Honor's attention and begs that you may be pleased to take his state into your serious Considn. and Grant into him such support as the nature of his Losses on the annexed Schedule and his former Services to yr. Great Judgement and good understanding shall seem meet.

SCHEDULE

To various Articles of personal property and Cash Expended by Memst. when Prisoner & for Recruiting 5 Men in the Carolina Corps with Notes Bonds Accts. amounting to £1433.2 Str.

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26th March 1787

Evidence on the foregoing Memorial of James Dawson The Claimant sworn.

Memorial read and sworn to

Certificates to Loyalty from

Lord Cornwallis
Major T. Kelly of the 71st Regt.
Col: Craig
Capt. St. John Chenery
Danl. Manson
———— McKennon
Ensign James Munro
Col: John Connolly
Peter Leyburn
Alexr. Leyburn

A Native of Ireland, went to America about the year 1762. was settled at Philadelphia in the year 1775. before that time he lived at Christian Bridge as a Trader. to avoid mustering he went to Philadelphia, he never took up Arms with the Americans he refused taking the Oath. in Sepr. 1769 [*sic*] he joined the British at Trentown [*sic*]. he afterwds. went back to philadelphia to his Family and joined the British at the head of Elk before the Battle of Brandywine and continued with them till the Evacuatn. of Chs. Town. he then went to Jamaica and came to Engd. in March 1784. Has an allowce. of £25 pr. Annum from the Treasury. He went with the Army as a Volr. he never recd. any pay from the Army.

PROPERTY

Says he expended Cash while in prison and for refusing to serve in the Militia amounting in the whole to £85 Sterling.

Cash expended for House repairs and Furniture destroyed by the Rebel Army on their March to Trentown on account of his being a Tory which Cost him £32 Sterling.

Two Horses and Cart taken away at the same time worth £50 Sterling. Values the Horses at £40 and the Cart at £10 Sterling.

Says the different Articles mentioned in his Sche. to the Six Oar Boat were in his possession and were also taken from him by the Americans the Time he joined the British at the Head of Elk amounting to £223 Sterling.

Says he had a Six Oar[e]d Boat taken from him in Apl. 1778 by Mongomery, Foraging for the use of the British £15 Sterling.

Says he lost a Sloop in conseqce. of the Evacuatn. of philadelphia worth £130 Sterling.

He lost 500 Cwt. of Indigo—82 Deer Skins—22 Dozen of Do. with hair on—a Silver Watch—and Diamond—and Cash taken from him out of his Chest—on his passage by an American privateer

says it was a venture in Trade. Wilmington packet Boat compleatly fitted up bound with Express to Lord Cornwallis to Virginia the Vessel was Captured on her passage by an American privateer as appears by Col: Craigs Certife.

Values the packet Boat at £140 Sterling.

States a Loss of various other Articles of persl. property amounting to £156 Sterling.

States Debts due to him on Bond and Book Accounts amounting to £235 Sterling. States a Loss of £15 for recruiting five Men for the British Service.

Peter Leyburn—Sworn.

Knew the Claimt. before the War, he was a Trader. he looked upon him to have been possed. of property but he cant say to what amount. he bore the Character of a Fair Trader and an honest Man.

Read the Affts. of Wm. Wilson and Donald McDongald. viz.

Personally appeared at this Office Mr. Wm. Wilson late of the City of Philada. Mariner and now leavg. the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and being duly Sworn on the Holy Evangelist, maketh Oath and Saith, That he was personally acquainted with Mr. James Dawson Merct. both in the Prov: of Penna. & Maryland prior to the late War in North America & that he was a person of Credit & Repute until the late unhappy Dissensions arose between Gt. Britain & her Colonies, At which time Dept. saith that the said J. Dawson was possessed of a Valuable pair of Horses and a Light Waggon which was taken from him by the Rebels and Deponent also Saith that the said J. Dawson in the yr. 1777 was possessed of sundry Looms which he had occupied in the Cotton, Linnen and Woolen Manufactory, by which he obtained a conside. Livelyhood, & that he was also poss[ess]ed of a large Quantity of Mercantile Goods which consisted chiefly of Blankets Stock & Linings &c with several Barrels of Beef, Pork and flower [*sic*] & 5 Hogsheads of Spiritous Liquors & sundry other Moveables which were totally carried away & his House & furniture destroyed & himself most inhumanly Treated and cast into prison by the adherents of Congress in consequence of his refusing to bear arms agt. his Majy. and the British Constitution. And this Depont. further Saith that the said Mr. James Dawson was also poss[ess]ed of the arm'd furiging [*sic*] Sloop Rachel which he had plyed in the River Delaware agt. his Majys Enemies in 1778 and that the afsd. sloop Rachel was lost on the Delaware in conseqce. of the Evacuatn. of that place, As also his Majestys Ship Knotless, pressing the hands from on Board, And Deponent further Saith that sd. Mr. J. Dawson must be a very connde. Sufferer Exclusive of the above Losses by the many prosecutions he underwent by sundry fines & Imprisonments by the adherents of Congress for his early and Constant refusal to bear Arms agt. his Majesty and the British Governmt as also his joining the Royal Army in the aforesld. Provs.

Sworn this 27th Sept. 1785 at the Public Office in Symonds Inn before P. Hatford

Wm. Wilson

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Personally appeared at this Office Mr. Danl. McDongald late of the Province of North Carolina, and now bound to North Britain and being duly Sworn maketh Oath and Saith,

That he was personally acquainted with Mr. James Dawson of the Town of Wilmington of the aforesaid province Treader [*sic*], and that he was possessed of a considble. property amongst which was a large Armed Boat mounting four 2 pounders with small Arms which he had plyed in his Majesty's Service agt. the Enemy and Dept. also Saith that the said Dawson had permission from James Henry Craig Esqr. now Col. of the 16th Foot to go in said Boat with the Dispatches to Lord Cornwallis and also with a load of Refreshments for the use of his Army then in Virginia and Dept. also Saith that the sd. J. Dawson was Captured on his Passage to the Loss of his Vessel and Cargo and himself held in close Durance until released by the Arival of Col: Craig at Newbourn in the said Province and Deponent further saith that he had at that time understood by various Gentlemen of Character and repute, and that the said Jas. Dawson was a very great Sufferer by the Rebels in Pennsylva. Exclusive of the above Loss from the many persecuts. he underwent by the adherents of Congress in conseqe. of his Loyalty to his Majesty his Attachment to the British Government and also his Joining the Royal Army in the Province of Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Donald McDongald

Sworn the 14th of Aug. 1786 at my Chambers in Symonds Inn before me A. Popham

## *Treatment of Loyalists' Families*[33]

New Castle County [Court of Quarter Sessions] In February Sessions 1780.

Whereas We the Subscribers George Craghead, George Evans, and John Lea Esqrs. Justices of the Peace for said County, were appointed by the Court of General Quarter Sessions of said County to ascertain the Sum or Sums of Money that each of the Wifes and Children of every of the Person or Persons who hath forfeited their Estates by an Act of the General Assembly of this State, intitled an Act of free Pardon and Oblivion and for other Purposes therein mentioned—having met and examined the several Accompts delivered to us by the Commissioner for the Sale of said Estates—And also a Supplement to said Act dated the 5th of June 1779 and finding that the said Accompts is by said Supplement to be settled by the Judges of the Common Pleas We do make the following Allowances, viz.—To Ingeber Derrickson Wife of Jacob Derrickson the Sum of One Thousand Pounds, to his three Children (Names unknown) each One Thousand Pounds—To Mrs. Margaret Willson Wife of Christopher Willson the Sum of Four Hundred Pounds,

33. New Castle County, Court Papers: Court of Quarter Sessions, 1780. (MSS in the State Archives). Reproduced with the permission of the State Archivist, Leon deValinger, Jr.

to his five Children (Names unknown) each the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds—to Mrs. Margaret North wife of Joshua North the Sum of Three thousand Pounds provided said Margaret North shall cansell a Marriage, Contract entered into by her husband Joshua North at Time of their Marriage, as Witness our Hands this 23rd of Feby. 1780.

Geo: Craghead,
Geo: Evans,
Jno. Lea.

The above Report is approved
& confirmed by the Court in
February Sessions 1780.

## *The Disposal of Loyalist Estates*[34]

(State Treasurer's Accounts, 1783)

Dr. The Delaware State to William McClay Cr.

Comsr. for the sale of confiscated Es[t]ates in New Castle County

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| By the Sale of Robert Brown's Mare | 64 | | |
| By the Sales of Charles Gordon's Estate | 245 | 12 | 6 |
| By the Sales of Jacob Derrickson's Estate | 7374 | 3 | |
| By the Sale of the one half of John Gregory's Flatt | 254 | 10 | |
| By the Sale of Isaac Atwood's Negro Man | 375 | | |
| By the Sales of Christopher Wilson's Estate | 4850 | 12 | 6 |
| By the Sales of Joshua North's Land & Marsh | 24550 | | |
| By the Sales of Joshua North's Moveable Estate | 13889 | | |
| By the Sale of Esau Cox's Lot | 660 | | |
| By the Sale of John Almond's Lot of Marsh | 380 | | |
| | 52642 | 18 | 0 |

34. State Treasurer's Accounts, 1783. (MSS in the State Archives). Reproduced with the permission of the State Archivist, Leon deValinger, Jr. Only the credit portion of the document is reproduced. On the debit side are fees and taxes on Joshua North's estate, and payments to the wives of Joshua North, Jacob Derickson, and Christopher Wilson.

# *William Plumer's Biographical Sketches of James A. Bayard, Caesar A. Rodney, and Samuel White*

Edited by JOHN A. MUNROE*

Despite an active and varied life of ninety-one years, William Plumer seems likely to be remembered widely for only one act, and that a single ballot—his vote as a presidential elector in 1820 for his friend and idol, John Quincy Adams. His vote is memorable not because it was the only electoral vote Adams received in that year, but because it was the only vote James Monroe did not receive.

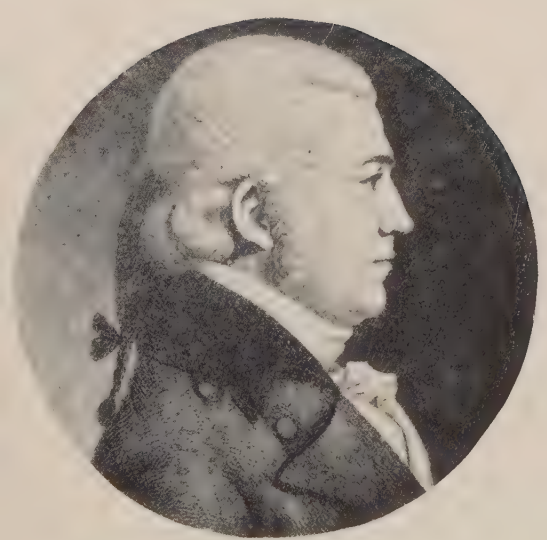
That he should be remembered for this unusual behavior in breaking with his party would never have caused him shame. He admired, and shared, the virtues that he found in Adams, whom he described, in 1806, as "a man of strict, undeviating integrity. He is not the slave of party, nor influenced by names; but free, independent, and occasionally eccentric."[1] Monroe was decidedly inferior; "there is," Plumer wrote, "no one act of my official life on which I reflect with more satisfaction than that of withholding from him my vote as an Elector." And again, "We mistake if we suppose that any but the ablest men are fit for the highest place."[2]

This act of independence is characteristic of Plumer's career, of his four careers, indeed. Born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1759, he left school at sixteen to work on his father's farm at Epping, New Hampshire, whither his family had moved. At twenty, he embarked briefly on a religious career as a Baptist exhorter and preacher, but deism soon claimed him and the pulpit was abandoned. At twenty-five, he left home to study law in Amherst, Massachusetts, but he

* Dr. John A. Munroe is associate professor of history in the University of Delaware.

1. William Plumer, Jr., *Life of William Plumer* (Boston, 1857), pp. 343-44.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 494, 512.



JAMES A. BAYARD

CAESAR A. RODNEY

SAMUEL WHITE

*The three profile portraits above were made by Févret de Saint-Mémin* (1770-1852). *His more than eight hundred profile engravings, which he drew by means of a physionotrace, reduced to a miniature by a pantograph, and then engraved, include portraits of practically all distinguished Americans of the first part of the nineteenth century.*

tired of Coke and Latin and returned home, only to resume his study a year later at Londonderry, New Hampshire. This time his legal career was under way in earnest. In 1787 he was admitted to the bar, and he practiced law successfully until he went to the Senate in 1802.

His political career had begun two decades earlier with election as an Epping selectman. Terms in the New Hampshire legislature had followed, and service in a state constitutional convention and as a justice of the peace. In the convention he opposed religious tests and favored a strong executive, speedy and cheap trials, representation by population; in the legislature he became a leader of the Federalists, but an independent leader. "I have seen things in Mr. Adam's administration," he declared, "which I could not approve; and I doubt not that I shall see measures adopted by Mr. Jefferson, that will meet with my cordial approval."[3]

The opportunity to view Jefferson's measures at close range was given him by the New Hampshire legislature in 1802 when it elected him senator.[4] In Washington, Plumer found himself usually in the minority. He opposed the Louisiana Purchase as unconstitutional, favored abolition of the vice-presidency, dallied, briefly only, with New England secessionism, opposed the re-election of Jefferson, and yet gradually discovered himself a Republican.

"I shall not be surprised," Gouverneur Morris had warned, "if, in a few years, you act more like a Republican than a Federalist." To which Plumer responded: "I trusted I should never act contrary to my own judgment, to support either party."[5] A few years later he was writing, "The more impartially I examine the character and conduct of Mr. Jefferson, the more favorably I think of his integrity. I have, I am

3. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

4. His view of Jefferson is discussed by Lynn W. Turner in his article, "Thomas Jefferson through the Eyes of a New Hampshire Politician," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXX (1943), 205-14.

5. Plumer, *Life of Plumer*, pp. 254-55.

inclined to think, done him injustice in this respect. Not that he is a model of wisdom or goodness . . . ."[6]

The victim of his independence, he was retired forever from the Senate in 1807, but not from politics. He was elected to the New Hampshire legislature in 1810 as a Republican, and in 1812 he was raised to the governorship. He supported Madison for President and he supported "Mr. Madison's war," but in 1813 he was overwhelmed by the tide of Federalism which swept New England. With the war's end, however, Federalism was suspect of treason for its part in the Hartford Convention, the Republicans swept New Hampshire, and Plumer became governor again in 1816, to be re-elected in 1817 and 1818. After his fourth term, his third in succession, and after having lost some support by vetoing fourteen bills, he retired from public life for good, except for his brief re-emergence as the contrary presidential elector of the 1820 campaign.

He was now sixty, but a new, and final, phase of his life, his scholarly career, was barely begun. For it he had been preparing for years. He had always had the habit of carrying a book with him. He read on horseback and in his chaise while a companion held the reins. "I spent no portion of my time in idleness," he had written in 1795; "none in the pursuits of pleasure. The hours not devoted to business or to sleep, were occupied in reading and studying principally law, history, and politics."[7]

Work on his first grand design was actively begun in 1807. He described it to Jefferson: "The last winter I had the honor of communicating to you my design of writing the history of the United States. To that object I am resolved to devote the principal part of my future days. It is my first determination, like a faithful witness in Court, to relate the truth, the whole truth, & nothing but the truth, regardless of the applause or censure of existing parties. I write for posterity, not for temporary applause; & I hope it will be a

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-43.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

work not of contention, but worthy of remembrance, by that country & government whose history it shall delineate."[8]

Having amassed a large collection of government documents, he secured the works of earlier writers, read widely, made notes, sorted them, prepared a seventy-two-page plan of his project, and wrote the early chapters—from the European background through the settlement of Virginia. Here politics intervened, for in 1810, after three years of retirement, he was sent to the legislature, and the next eight years of his life were spent in the midst of political turmoil and of war.

When leisure came to him again, Plumer thought himself too old to resume his history and so embraced a more unusual but hardly less ambitious task, a study of the lives of eminent Americans. He made voluminous notes from documents, newspapers, journals, books, copying each note as he made it in a series of manuscript books, which, in time, he indexed. Then he turned to the writing. As each note was used, he struck a diagonal line through the reference to it in his index, and gradually in this way his biography was pieced together. But there was no end to his work. His materials constantly grew; new notes were accumulated as letters of inquiry brought informative responses or new books swelled his large library. Intending to present the essential facts in the life of every prominent man, he hoped to print his finished sketches in a chronological order according to the date of each subject's death. Between 1827, when the first sketch was completed, and 1843, when Plumer, then eighty-four, dated his last sketch, a total of 1,952 biographies were written.[9] He hoped to do more and continued to make notes until two years before his death in 1850, but the historical composition which he had begun under Jefferson was closed with the 1843 biography of Jefferson, the last sketch to be written.[10]

"The articles," his son explained, "are most of them first

8. Written at Epping, May 1, 1807, Plumer Collection (New Hampshire State Library, Concord).

9. Plumer, *Life of Plumer*, p. 501.

10. The most convenient account of Plumer's life is William A. Robinson's in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-44), XV, 12-13.

sketches, rather than finished papers. The toil of revision, addition, and correction, remains to be performed. In this present state they are a vast accumulation of interesting facts in American history and biography; but they lack the harmony and artistical perfectness which longer time and greater elaboration could alone give them, and which the author's age, when he commenced the undertaking, left little reason to hope that he could live to supply."[11]

Few of these sketches ever have been published. Many of them do not merit publication, for they are merely repetitions of facts now known and available, particularly in view of the existence of such an excellent biographical encyclopedia as the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The three sketches selected for publication here are not, however, in that category.

The Bayard, Rodney, and White sketches have been chosen, primarily because their subjects were Delawareans. Many other Delawareans won Plumer's attention: John Dickinson, for example, Charles Ridgely, and George Read. But of all the Delawareans of whom he wrote, Bayard, Rodney, and White were alone his contemporaries as well as his acquaintances, if not friends. All three of them were in Congress for at least part of the five years that Plumer spent there. White was his colleague in the Senate minority. On one occasion Plumer referred to White as one of his "much esteemed friends."[12] On a later occasion he wrote that White was "a man of highly polished manners."[13] But since White was in no way an outstanding member of the Senate, it was on Bayard that Plumer called when he sought facts for his sketch. Much of the material in the sketch of White was supplied by Bayard in a letter of June 11, 1811, since published.[14]

Caesar Augustus Rodney was also a Congressional colleague of Plumer, but in the other chamber and with the other

11. Plumer, *Life of Plumer*, pp. 506-7.

12. Everett S. Brown (ed.), *William Plumer's Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807* (New York, 1923), p. 31.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 608.

14. Elizabeth Donnan (ed.), *Papers of James A. Bayard, 1796-1815* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1913, Vol. II [Washington, 1915]), pp. 184-86.

party. Consequently it is not strange that Plumer's references to Rodney in his memorandum were less complimentary than those to White and Bayard. At one time this New Hampshire Senator sneeringly denominated Rodney, John Randolph, and Joseph Nicholson, "the three champions of southern democracy,"[15] and later he declared Rodney and Nicholson "have discovered a degree of low cunning and mean-ness I did not expect."[16] When, in 1807, Jefferson appointed Rodney attorney general, Plumer voted for confirmation, terming Rodney "an industrious, fair minded pleasant man, . . . modest, persuasive, unassuming," with "a talent of using common place observation to great advantage." But he stated his reservations: "I think a better lawyer, a man of more talent—of more liberal views, a man more efficient & of extensive information might have been found. . . . He has not the legal knowledge of Parsons, Dexter, or Dallas—not the science of Adams or Rawle, or the great commanding talents & efficiency of Bayard or Martin."[17]

When Plumer went to Washington, James A. Bayard, the elder, was just completing three terms in the House, where Rodney would replace him, but in 1805 he entered the Senate and assumed at once a prominent position among the Federalists there. Plumer was enthralled. His first memorandum entry regarding Bayard is dated January 21, 1805, and relates to the debate over receiving a Quaker memorial, presented by George Logan, against the increase of slavery. "Mr. Bayard observed," Plumer noted, "That the southern states ought not to complain of the eastern & middle States for wishing to prevent the further encrease of slaves—For he would Venture to say that all the plagues of Egypt united were not equal to the plague that slavery will eventually prove to the southern States."[18]

Within a fortnight Plumer's opinion of Bayard was fixed. "I am really pleased with Mr. Bayard," he wrote; "he is cer-

15. Brown, *Plumer's Memorandum*, p. 272.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 301.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 579-80.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

tainly a man with great talents—prompt & ready on every question. I have yet seen no man in Congress whose resources are so great. He is a host."[19]

Plumer was not alone in his ecstatic reaction to Bayard's oratory. Manasseh Cutler declared of Bayard's speech of February 19-20, 1802, on the repeal of the Judiciary Act: "It was delivered in a truly parliamentary style, and said here, by many, never to have been equalled by Fox, Burke, or Chatham. No speech in the Senate will bear a comparison. . . . He [Bayard] is an extraordinary man. In cautious, sound judgment, he does not excel; but, as a parliamentary speaker, perfectly at his ease—so careless, that he does not appear to have the least exercise of mind, and hardly to know, himself, that he is speaking. I doubt whether his equal can be found. And though his speaking seems to be as easy and as involuntary as his breathing, yet in the sublime, in pathos, in solemnity, as occasion requires, he arrests, he astonishes his auditory, but seems to know nothing about it himself. His friends have begged him immediately to commit all he can recollect to writing. But a speech of six hours and a half, with very few previous notes, much of it depending on the impressions and spur of the moment, can never, without much loss, be committed to paper."[20]

In his thirtieth year, even before he had gone to Congress, Bayard had made a favorable impression upon William Vans Murray, who wrote to James McHenry of "Young Bayard, a fine young man of parts, and the right sort of parts, well directed."[21]

The biographical sketches that follow are printed from typescripts prepared for the editor by the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord. They are used with the per-

19. *Ibid.*, p. 261. In January, 1807, Plumer wrote of Henry Clay: "As a speaker, Clay is animated, his language bold and flowery. He is prompt and ready at reply, but he does not reason with the force and precision of Bayard." Plumer, *Life of Plumer*, p. 353.

20. To Rev. Dr. Dana, Washington, Feb. 21, 1802, William P. Cutler and Julia P. Cutler (eds.), *Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.* (Cincinnati, 1888), II, 79, 81-82.

21. From Cambridge, Md., June 24, 1796, Bernard Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), p. 195.

mission of that society. That they are now published would probably gratify their author, though the writing of them brought him gratification enough. To John Quincy Adams, he wrote in 1829: "I have long been convinced that the great secret of human happiness is not to suffer our energies to stagnate. Our pleasure consists in action more than in rest. I never enjoyed life better than I now do [he was then seventy], in a state of retirement from the world. I feel a deep interest in my literary undertakings; and if they should not prove useful to others, they will have served at least to smooth for me the passage down the vale of declining years. It would, indeed, be a gratification, if I could live to complete and publish the work; but this is not probable."[22] Nineteen years later, when he was very ill, he spoke to his son "among other things, of his long accustomed labors, the materials he had collected for his Biographical Sketches, and the lives he had yet to write. He said he had written with freedom and impartiality of men and measures, telling, in every case, what he believed to be the truth. He hoped some of the sketches might be found fit for publication. . . ."[23]

## *James Ashton Bayard*[24]

Was the son of Dr. James A. Bayard, & was born in Philadelphia in the year 1767.[25] His parents dying while he was a child, he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, the late colonel John Bayard, of whose family he became a member, & with whom he continued to reside for several years. His education was entrusted to the care of the reverend Mr. Smith[26] of Piqua,

22. Plumer, *Life of Plumer*, p. 505.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 530.

24. Custom has fixed the spelling of the middle name as Asheton. Donnan, *Bayard Papers*, p. 204n.

25. "My father was born on July 28, 1767, and married in Feby. 1795 to Ann Bassett, the daughter of Govr. Richard Bassett of Delaware." James A. Bayard, the younger, to James Grant Wilson, Wilmington, July 20, 1872, Collection of Mrs. William S. Hilles, Ommelanden, Delaware.

26. The Reverend Robert Smith conducted an academy at Pequea, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Guy S. Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 204. For an account of his method of teaching, see *ibid.*, p. 208. For a biographical sketch, see Richard Webster, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 612-14, or William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857-69), III, 172-75. He was the father of Dr. Ebenezer Smith, an early Wilmington physician.

Pennsylvania; & after remaining with him a considerable time, he resumed his studies in his uncle's family, assisted by a private tutor. There he continued till he was admitted into Princeton College. His talents which did not satisfactorily display themselves until the second or third year of his college life, were then rapidly developed. The prompt & energetic & yet deliberate & steady character of his mind, was conspicuous. He retired from college with distinguished honor; & the reputation which he carried with him into the more extended scenes of life, gave a pledge of future eminence, which he afterwards nobly redeemed.

He thot his talents qualified him better for the practise of law than that of any other profession; & in 1784 he commenced the study of it with the late general Reid,[27] & after his death completed it with Mr. Ingersol.[28] After his admission to the bar, he selected the State of Delaware for the place of his residence, & the theatre for the pursuit of his professional labors.[29] He soon attained a distinguished rank at the bar, & participated largely in the honors & emoluments of the profession. As a lawyer he was without an equal in the circuit in which he practised, tho not without rivals. The great facility, the intuitive celerity, with which his acute & comprehensive mind embraced the most important & difficult subjects; while his imagination constantly presented the happiest images to illustrate his position, or adorn his argument. In the heat & hurry of forensic discussion, they appeared to spring up spontaneously in his mind, & always like the soldiers of Cadmus, in complete armor & array, to support his cause. Such qualities rendered him an ingenious, powerful, & in general a successful advocate.

In 1797[30] he was elected by the people of Delaware as representative to the congress at the United States; & continued such from the third of March in that year to the third of March 1803, being six years.[31] Actively engaged in political & professional duties, he appeared to reconcile their endless varieties, & evinced a happy aptitude for both. He was a[t] once a profound jurist, an accomplished statesman, & an eloquent dignified speaker in congress. The same efforts of industry, & powers of mind, that qualified him for superiority in the less magnified but intricate controversies of individuals, readily enabled

27. Joseph Reed (1741-1785), Philadelphia lawyer, who had been formerly military secretary of Washington.

28. Jared Ingersoll (1749-1822), Philadelphia lawyer, a friend of Joseph Reed.

29. To this point Plumer's sketch largely follows the wording of a "Biographical Sketch of the Honourable James A. Bayard," published in the *Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle* (Philadelphia), VII (1816), 333-67.

30. The election was, of course, in 1796; Bayard's term began in 1797.

31. Bayard was defeated in the 1802 election by Caesar A. Rodney.

him to extend his intellectual grasp to the comprehension of more enlarged topics of general interest, which involved the duties, the policy, the happiness, & the rights of nations. In congress he was distinguished for the depth of his knowledge, the solidity of his reasoning, & the perspicuity of his illustrations.

His politics were *federal* — he was one of the most conspicuous of that party, & a leader of acknowledged ability in the house, of which he was a member; yet he was not a blind partisan who would sacrifice what he considered the interest of the nation to support the views of any party. Early in the winter of 1801 it was known that the electors had not chosen a president of the United States, that the two highest candidates, Thomas Jefferson & Aaron Burr, had an equal number of electoral votes, & one of whom the house were required to elect. Mr. Bayard thot neither of them were suitable candidates for that high office; but the federal members, in general, were decidedly & zealously in favor of Burr; & some of them went so far as to declare that if he was not elected president, no man should be. But Alexander Hamilton took a deep interest against Burr & wrote several letters to Bayard, urging him to vote for Jefferson.[32] On the 7th of January Mr. Bayard wrote Hamilton a letter in which he observes that his vote would elect Jefferson, but as the federal members were resolved to support Burr, he should not separate from them without strong reasons, acknowledging, however, there were strong considerations for giving preference to Jefferson; & that the determination of the federal party would not bind him, tho it might cost him a painful struggle to disappoint the views & wishes of many gentlemen with whom he had been accustomed to act, yet the magnitude of the subject, he said forbids the sacrifice of a strong conviction.[33]

Before this election commenced in the house, he firmly resolved that one of the two candidates, if he could effect it, should be elected. On the 11th of February the house, having previously resolved they would do no other business or adjourn till they had finished the election, commenced ballotting. There was then sixteen States in the Union, & the vote of nine was necessary for a choice. On the first ballot Jefferson had eight States, Burr six, & two States were divided. In thirty five ballottings the result was the same. The two States who were divided were Maryland and Vermont. Mr. Bayard considered Burr personally better qualified than Jefferson for the office; but did from the beginning believe that Burr could not be elected, therefore felt no anxiety for his election, & even thot it vain to make the attempt; this opinion he fre-

32. One of these letters is printed in John C. Hamilton (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1850-51), VI, 499-501.

33. This letter is printed in *ibid.*, pp. 505-7, and Hamilton's response, pp. 419-24.

quently & openly expressed. But he was principally influenced to continue voting for Burr, on account of public sentiment which he thot neither safe or politic to counteract till the experiment should be fairly tried. In the mean time he conferred freely with Craik & Baer,[34] representatives from Maryland, & Morris[35] from Vermont, all three of whom were federalists, & either of the four could elect Jefferson. They mutually pledged themselves to each other to pursue the same line of conduct, and act together. They resolved as soon as it was clearly ascertained that Burr could not be elected, to give their votes for Jefferson; & left it with Bayard to fix the time when opposition should cease. After this agreement was made, he stated to two of Mr. Jefferson's particular confidents, John Nicholas[36] & Samuel Smith,[37] That if Mr. Jefferson would give assurance, That he would support public credit; maintain the naval system; & that subordinate officers employed only in the execution of details, established by law, should not be removed from office on the ground of their political character, nor without complaint against their conduct, three States would withdraw their opposition to his election. These assurances were made to him; & he became dissatisfied with protracting the ballotting, thinking further delay would cause a dangerous excitement. On the 16th of February he gave notice to the friends of Burr, openly declaring to them that he should next day withdraw his opposition to Jefferson. And on the 17th of that month, on the thirty sixth ballotting, Morris from Vermont absented himself from the house. Bayard, Baer, & Craik put in blank votes, & Jefferson had the votes of ten States, & was elected.[38]

Two days after his election terminated, the president & Senate of the United States, appointed him minister plenipotentiary to France. The same day he wrote the following letter to president Adams.[39]

34. William Craik (1761-c. 1813) and George Baer (1763-1834), representatives from Maryland.

35. Lewis R. Morris (1760-1825), representative from Vermont, nephew of Gouverneur Morris.

36. John Nicholas (c. 1756-1819), Virginia lawyer, representative in Congress, 1793-1810. He moved to New York State in 1803.

37. Samuel Smith (1752-1839), Baltimore merchant, hero of two wars, at this time representative in Congress, where he served for forty years.

38. Much information on Bayard's important part in the election of Jefferson is collected in *Documents relating to the Presidential Election in the Year 1801; containing a Refutation of Two Passages in the Writings of Thomas Jefferson, aspersing the Character of the Late James A. Bayard, of Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1831), a pamphlet published by Bayard's sons. The literature on the subject is briefly discussed in a footnote by Edward Channing in his *History of the United States* (New York, 1905-25), IV, 242.

39. This letter, in a slightly different form, is published in Donnan, *Bayard Papers*, pp. 129-30, and in other works there mentioned.

WASHINGTON, 19 Feb. 1801.

SIR,

I beg you to accept my thanks for the honor conferred on me by the nomination as minister to the French republic. Under most circumstances, I should have been extremely gratified with such an opportunity of rendering myself serviceable to the country. But in the delicate situation in which the late presidential election has placed me, forbids my exposing myself to the *suspicion* of having adopted, from impure motives, the line of conduct which I pursued. Representing the smallest State in the Union, without resources which could furnish the means of self protection, I was compelled by the obligation of sacred duty so to act, as not to hazard the constitution upon which the political existence of the State depends.

The service which I should have to render, by accepting the appointment, would be under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, and having been in the number of those who withdrew from the opposition to his election, it is impossible for me to take the office, the tenure of which would be at his pleasure.

You will, therefore, pardon me, Sir, for begging of you to accept my resignation of the appointment.

I have the honor to be with perfect consideration your very obedient servant.

JAMES A. BAYARD

The President of the United States.

Three days after he wrote to a near relation,[40] one of his earliest & most intimate, stating the principles which then governed his political course & ambition, & continued thro the rest of his life. The letter is dated at Washington the 22nd of February 1801.[41] In it he says,

You are right in your conjecture as to the office offered me. I have since been nominated minister to France, concurred in nem. con. — commissioned, & resigned. Under proper circumstances, the acceptance would have been complete satisfaction, but under the existing, I thot resignation the most honorable. To have taken eighteen thousand dollars out of the public treasury, with a knowledge that no service would have been rendered by me, as the French government would have waited for a man who represented the existing feelings & views of the government, would have been disgraceful.

Another consideration of great weight, arose from the part I took in the presidential election. As I had given the turn to the election, it was impossible for me to have accepted an office, which would be held on the tenure of Mr. Jefferson's pleasure. My ambition shall never be gratified at the expense of a *suspicion.*

I shall never lose sight of the original of our name.[42]

40. His first cousin, Samuel Bayard, son of his father's twin brother, Colonel John Bayard, in whose home he was reared.

41. This letter, in a slightly different form, is printed in *Bayard Papers*, pp. 131-32.

42. This is, of course, a reference to the Chevalier Bayard (Pierre Terrail, Seigneur de Bayard, 1473-1524), the faultless knight, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

It would have broken the thread of the narrative, to have stated in chronological order, a fact which occurred about the year 1798 or 1799; & that is, that Mr. Bayard fought a duel with a member of congress at Philadelphia in a disused saw pit shed.[43]

In 1804, the legislature of Delaware elected him a Senator to the Congress of the United States in the place of Mr. Wells[44] resigned; January 24th 1805 they re-elected Mr. Bayard for a term of six years from March following; & on the 11th of January 1811 they re-elected him for another six years. It was an understanding between him & the people of Delaware, previous to his being elected representative to congress, that he should not be obliged to attend congress when his professional business required his presence in the courts of law. The same understanding existed between him & the legislature previous to their electing him senator: & hence it was that when the session of congress commenced in November or December, he seldom attended till some time in the January following.[45]

As a member of the Senate he was distinguished for his sound principles, constant acuteness, extensive knowledge, & manly copious eloquence. Possessing a strong mind, his speeches were logical & argumentative. He was prompt & ready on every occasion; met the question fairly; & expressed his opinion of men & measures with great freedom. Indeed, he was one of the ablest & most honorable of our citizens; & as a statesman his career is identified with the history of his country. He rose superior to the influence of party, & eloquently defended the cause of his country.

When the bill was before the senate to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus,* he stated his objections to it with great force & energy — remonstrated again to their haste to pass it, observing at the same time, that tho the rules of the Senate allowed any one member to prevent its being read three times in one day, he should not exercise that right, against the apparent will of a decided majority.[46]

At another time, when the bill to repeal the duty on salt was before the senate for a third reading, about three hours before congress must necessarily

43. Bayard's adversary was Christopher G. Champlin, representative from Rhode Island. *Bayard Papers,* pp. 110-11n.

44. William Hill Wells (1769-1829), senator from Delaware, 1799-1804 and 1813-1817.

45. His enemies naturally criticized this arrangement. "A Poor Farmer" complained in *The American Watchman* (Wilmington) of Dec. 22, 1810, that Bayard was "petty-fogging at New Castle" at fifteen or twenty dollars a day instead of attending Congress at six dollars a day.

46. Bayard was the only senator who opposed this suspension, which was projected in 1807 as part of the investigation into the Burr conspiracy. Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1889-91), III, 338-40.

terminate their session, Uriah Tracy,[47] a Senator, proposed to him to spend that time in debate & prevent the question being taken, he replied: I think the bill ought not to pass; but I cannot resort to artifice to prevent it. I shall state my reasons against it, but instead of a long argument, which I should make if the session was to continue a week, I shall condense my objections & state them in a few minutes, so as not to deprive the majority of voting: for it is they, not I, who are to be responsible for the measure. He did so, & the bill passed.[48]

On the 16th of June 1812, when the bill declaring war against Great Britain was pending in the Senate, he moved to postpone its further consideration. He admitted that the conduct of the British government to this country was wrong, & would justify us in declaring war against them; but contended that sound policy forbid our doing it at *that time*. His argument on that occasion, was a powerful appeal to the understanding of the Senate, but unsuccessful.

He was a man of high & honorable feelings, alike incapable of stooping to a mean act, or concealing his opinion upon any important subject. Having critically investigated the christian theology, he became a deist — openly avowed & frankly maintained his opinion on that subject; but never sought to make converts to his creed, or unnecessarily obtrude his opinion upon others.

His manners were those of a gentleman; he was attentive to his dress, which tho not fine, was rich. His person was comely & well proportioned; he was athletic & enjoyed a high state of health. But he lived too freely; he loved the pleasures of the table & of wine; tho a stranger could never, & an intimate friend seldom, perceive he was in the smallest degree intoxicated. He was fond of cards; but as he once observed to the writer, he never invited any man to play, or never refused when invited. He often remained at the card table all night, yet it never prevented him a single day from taking his seat in congress, or displaying his great talents, with propriety in its debates. Petion, the French chargé des affaires, one day pleasantly observed to him, "That it was a general rule that *great men* were *great* only on particular subjects; but you monsieur Bayard are *great* in debate in the halls of congress — *great* at the dining table — *great* at wine & great at cards."

Tho he opposed the declaration of war at the time it was made, yet president Madison who then approved of it, in April 1813 appointed him one of the envoys extraordinary & minister plenipotentiary to negotiate for a peace

47. Uriah Tracy (1755-1807), senator from Connecticut, 1796-1807.

48. The salt duty repeal (1806) was important as a passage at arms between John Randolph and the Jefferson administration. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

with Great Britain under the proferred mediation of Alexander emperor of Russia. This appointment was made during the recess of the Senate, but they on the 14th of July following by a vote of twenty seven to six agreed to it. This office was unexpected & unsolicited — the first information that Mr. Bayard had, that the president contemplated making the appointment, was by a letter from the Secretary of State. He promptly accepted the mission, sailed from the port of Philadelphia on the 8th of May and arrived at St. Petersburg on the 21st of July in that year.[49]

The emperor being absent, & Mr. Bayard seeing no prospect that Great Britain would consent to the mediation of Russia, in January 1814 obtained audience & took leave of that court, & in inclement season of the year proceeded by land to Holland with a view to embark for the United States. When he arrived there the British government announced her willingness to treat of peace with our envoys. But previous to the arrival of his colleagues, he made a visit to England; & on the 27th of June he arrived at Ghent, which was ultimately chosen as the place for meeting the British ministry. In August the negotiations commenced. Accustomed to scenes of political controversy, he had learned to profit by the errors of his opponents, & to correct his own. Naturally cool, sedate, & dispassionate, his judgment freely operated without being too much affected by a luxuriant fancy. Personally intrepid and politically independent, his purposes could not be shaken by flattery or menace. Silent when it was his part to listen, he acquired information from every quarter; but when circumstances required him to speak, his rich & ready elocution commanded attention as well by his fine countenance & manly person as by his logical reasoning & comprehensive views. He was an estimable man, a patriotic statesman, whose life was devoted to his country. These qualities rendered him an able efficient ambassador. The negotiation succeeded, & peace was established between the two nations.

During the time he was in Europe he amused himself with playing much & it is said won large sums which he brot home.[50]

Soon after he had signed the treaty of peace he made a journey to Paris, where he remained till he heard of its ratification, & of his appointment as

49. Bayard's diary for the first part of his trip abroad is in Donnan, *Bayard Papers*, pp. 385-516. Another collection of correspondence is the *Letters of James Asheton Bayard, 1802-1814* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, First Series, No. 31; Wilmington, 1901). These letters indicate the close friendship of Bayard and Caesar A. Rodney.

50. The latest treatment of the Ghent negotiations is in Samuel F. Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1949). See especially pp. 189-92 for comment on Bayard.

minister to Russia. This appointment was made by the president & Senate on the first day of March 1815; this he promptly declined.

It was his intention, however, to go to England, in order to co-operate in the formation of a commercial treaty with the British cabinet, as he was included in the commission for that purpose; but an alarming illness prevented him. Active & powerful remedies were not applied in an early stage, & the disease advanced with a painful rapidity. But he flattered himself he should be able to reach his home; & left Paris on the 10th day of May in a state of extreme debility & suffering. On his arriving at Havre he immediately embarked in the Neptune for Plymouth, England. At that place she was detained five weeks, during which time he was unable to leave his berth, but remained in excessive increasing weakness, expecting hourly to sail. During all these sufferings, & they continued thro the voyage, the firmness of his mind never forsook him. Equally serene on the bed of langor & pain, as he had been during a life of almost uninterrupted health, he cheerfully contemplated the welcome of his family.

On the 16th of August the Neptune arrived at Wilmington, the place of his residence. The town was immediately all in bustle; the arrival of the president of the United States would not have caused such an agitation; for tho a great majority of the inhabitants were opposed to his political sentiments, no man was so popular as he was. He was not landed till sunset & then was carried by twelve sailors to his house. He was surrounded by crowds of friends & townsmen, who were desirous of carrying him, but the sailors claimed it as their priviledge; & would not quit the house till they had offered, together, a prayer for him. To a friend who enquired if he had suffered much pain during the voyage, he replied, "Such as no mortal could imagine." Immediately after his arrival he said he should not recover; but was thankful for the priviledge of reaching his family, & appeared calm & resigned to his fate. The abcess in his breast burst, & he died at eight O'clock in the evening after forty eight years.

The next morning the bells tolled for the town council, who assembled amid the universal gloom, to express their sorrow for the event; & the judges & members of the bar in the State of Delaware unanimously voted to wear mourning for him thirty days.

## *Caesar Augustus Rodney*

The son of Thomas Rodney and nephew of Caesar Rodney, was [a] native of Delaware. He was educated a lawyer, and regularly admitted to the prac-

tice of law.[51] In his first attempt at the bar, as an advocate, he did not succeed. I cannot better describe this incident in his life, and some traits in his character, than by making an extract from his address to the chancellor, in which he had occasion to mention the late James A. Bayard. "His memory," says Rodney, "presses on my recollection, some of the earliest moments of my professional life, the dawn of which was inauspicious, and overcast by clouds of despondency.

"In my first attempt at the bar, you may remember that I unfortunately failed. The late chief justice Read,[52] (*clarum et venerabile no man*) who, altho he could not treat me with unkindness, or impoliteness, for it would have been contrary to his nature, habits and character; yet checked me as you would the conversation of a youth who talked out of season, when I was reading an author he did not consider an authority. I lost my recollection, and retired from the court with feelings I can neither forget nor describe.

"Mortified almost to death, in an unhappy hour, I formed the resolution of abandoning the profession.

"It was at this critical period, when bereft of the *'Spes lentus que futuri'*, that my estimable friend encouraged, persuaded, and pressed me to persevere, with the promise of his aid, and the pledge of his influence. I reluctantly yielded to his intreaties. The promise was faithfully performed. The pledge sacredly redeemed. With the result, possessed of moderate wishes, I have reason to be satisfied. And now, when I cannot be accused of flattery, to the dead, and when malice itself can impute no improper motives, with a grateful heart, I declare in public, as I have uniformly done in private, that for my success in the profession I am indebted to my departed friend.

"With him, you know, Sir, it was my pleasure and my pride to live more than twenty years, in habits of the strictest intimacy, and on terms of the sincerest friendship, thro all the vicissitudes of private life, and all the changes, revolution, and violence of party, tho on the troubled ocean of politics, we have frequently formed in the line of battle abrea[s]t."

In 1803, Mr. Rodney was the representative from Delaware in the congress of the United States, which office he held two years. He was one of

51. Rodney was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1799 and read law with Joseph McKean, son of Thomas McKean. George H. Ryden, "Caesar Augustus Rodney," *DAB*, XVI, 82-83. Earlier he had studied at the Wilmington Academy. E. Miriam Lewis (ed.), "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy, 1777-1802," *Delaware History*, III (1949), 206.

52. George Read (1733-1798), the Signer, was chief justice of Delaware from 1793 to his death.

the managers, in behalf of that house, of the impeachment against Samuel Chase, before the senate of the United States.[53]

In January 1807, he was nominated by the president for the office of attorney general of the United States. Mr. Bayard was then a senator and recommended the senate to advise to his appointment. He said tho he differed from Mr. Rodney on political subjects, he knew him to be an amiable, worthy man — a man whom he highly esteemed.[54] Tho, I think, Mr. Bayard, was absent on the 20th when all the senators present, except six, voted for Rodney. This office he held till the 10th of December 1811, when he resigned it.[55] In 1818, he returned from Spanish America, where the president of the United States had previously appointed him a commissioner to ascertain the state and condition of the people of that country.[56] In 1821 and 1822 he was a representative in congress. At the first session of that congress he was a candidate for the office of speaker. He received seventy two votes, but was not elected.[57] In January 1822, before his term as representative expired, the legislature of Delaware, elected him a senator in the congress of the United States, for the term of six years. On the 22d of July following, the citizens of Norfolk in Virginia, presented him an elegant silver urn of one hundred and thirty ounces weight, as a testimony of their thanks, for his generous and disinterested services for their townsman, captain James Barron.[58]

Mr. Rodney was a man of considerable reading. [He] Possessed the talent of using common place observations to great advantage. He had a sound practical judgment; but was not a first rate man or lawyer. He was modest, persuasive, and unassuming. There was nothing haughty or imperious in his manners or deportment. He was an industrious, fair minded man.

The 27th of January 1823, being then a member of the senate, he was

53. Rodney's part in this trial may be traced in Charles Evans, *Report of the Trial of the Hon. Samuel Chase* (Baltimore, 1805).

54. On January 16, 1807, Bayard sent Rodney his congratulations upon his nomination as attorney general: "You have no friend better pleased with the appointment than Your Hum. Sert." Donnan, *Bayard Papers*, pp. 170-71.

55. Rodney resigned because he was hurt that he had not been appointed to the Supreme Court. Rodney to [Gallatin], Wilmington, Nov. 25, 1811, Brown Collection (Historical Society of Delaware).

56. His report is in *House Document* 2, 15th Cong., 2d Sess.

57. Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia, was elected speaker.

58. James Barron (1769-1851) had killed Stephen Decatur in 1820 in a duel which had grown out of the court martial of Barron years earlier for his command of the "Chesapeake" in its famous encounter with the "Leopard" in 1807, an encounter which almost brought war with England. Edward Breck, "James Barron," *DAB*, I, 649-50.

appointed minister plenipotentiary of the United States to Buenos *Ayers*. On the 16th of November following, he arrived at the place of his destination. About ten days after this, he experienced a violent apoplectic attack. His ill health delayed his *formal reception* untill the 27th of December, which was favorable and splendid.

After nearly seven months residence in that country, his family had incurred a considerable debt of hospitalities, which they considered it a duty to repay. The evening of the 9th of June 1824, was selected for a large party, to which numerous invitations were distributed. The company assembled, and festivities commenced, when a cloud came over the family for an hour, the father being seized with a violent vomiting. His physician being of the party administered some palliatives, and Mr. Rodney fell into a gentle sleep. The momentary cloud of gloom was dispelled, and the pleasures of the evening were protracted untill twelve o'clock. After the company retired, the family all went to rest as usual persuaded that the father's indisposition was of that kind to which he had been frequently subject. They did not apprehend any serious consequences, and therefore his eldest son only remained by his bed side. Mr. Rodney had been for a considerable time vibrating between life and death; but at no period was his dissolution so little expected as when it happened. He slept all night, and six o'clock the next morning only waked to a moment's irregular respiration, when he instantly died, aged about sixty years.

The same day, the government of Buenos Ayers passed the following order.

The death of Mr. Caesar A. Rodney, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, has excited in the government of Buenos Ayers, all the grief which the loss of so distinguished a citizen must be to this country. To America he was the most zealous defender of her rights. — He was especially attached to the provinces of Rio de la Plata — in consequence of this the government being anxious of testifying the public sentiments and the gratitude with which it is inspired for his virtues — it has decreed,

1st That a sepulchral monument shall be erected at the expense of the government, where the remains of the honorable Caesar A. Rodney shall be deposited, as a memory of gratitude.

2d The expense of the monument shall be paid from the funds appropriated for the contingent expenses of the government.

3d Let orders for the fulfillment of this decree be given, and let it be recorded in the official register.

The ministers, secretaries, with all the staff of the army, and chiefs of the departments, shall assist at the obsequies which are on this day to be made for Mr. Rodney in the English cemetery, and the government has decreed the following honors —

When the corpse shall be taken from the place in which it now is, the

fortress shall fire minute guns — when the corpse shall enter the cemetery, another discharge of artillery shall be made — and when the body shall be deposited in the sepulchre, a general discharge of the whole battallion of the infantry shall take place.

His body was conveyed by a hearse of the first class, then used for the first time, in which were crossed the banner of the United States, and those of the provinces of Rio-de-la-Plata. The newspapers which announced Rodney's death were dressed in black.

## *Samuel White*

The son of a respectable farmer[59] was born in the county of Kent, Delaware, in December 1770. After receiving the education which the common schools of that county afforded he was sent to Cokesbury college[60] in Maryland, where he remained several years, but that institution not having the power to confer degrees, he did not graduate.

In 1790 he commenced the study of law with Richard Bassett[61] then a senator in congress from the state of Delaware, and completed his legal studies with Nicholas Hammond[62] of Maryland. In 1794 he was admitted to the bar in Delaware, and opened an office at Dover in that state. He soon obtained a competent share of business, and as an advocate acquired reputation; but he had little relish for the nature or labor of his profession.

In 1798 congress passed a law to raise twelve additional regiments to the army of the United States; and the next year Mr. White eagerly embraced the opportunity of exchanging the profession of a lawyer for that of a soldier. On the 9th of January 1799 the president of the United States appointed him a captain in that establishment; & he soon raised in his native state a company of infantry. His company was attached to colonel Ogden's regiment, and stationed at Scotch Plains in New Jersey. In the army he acquired the esteem and confidence of the officers and soldiers. When the tidings of the death of Washington reached the army, the officers selected him to prepare and deliver a funeral eulogy on that illustrious man. The composition was elegant,

59. The father was Judge Thomas White, a wealthy landowner of Kent County and a Methodist convert of Francis Asbury, for whom he long provided refuge. Henry C. Conrad, *Samuel White and his Father, Judge Thomas White* (Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, First Series, No. 40, Wilmington, 1903), pp. 3-5.

60. Cokesbury College was a short-lived Methodist school in Harford County, Maryland, named for Bishop Thomas Coke (1747-1814).

61. Richard Bassett (1745-1815), father-in-law of James A. Bayard, was converted to Methodism after meeting Asbury at Judge Thomas White's home.

62. At Easton, Maryland.

and delivered with graceful propriety. It was afterwards printed, and those who have read it say it reflects honor upon its author.

The prospect of war having vanished, and the army being expensive, congress in 1800 passed a law authorizing the president to disband the twelve regiments, and in the course of that year he discharged them. Captain White as an officer was humane — attentive to the comfort of his soldiers and an excellent disciplinarian. The love of military fame was then his ruling passion;[63] but he returned to private life without having a single opportunity of bringing his valor to the test. The legislature of Delaware afterward appointed him a general of their militia.

From the army he returned to Dover in his native state, and then again resumed the practise of law; but the taste he had acquired for military life evidently inspired him with a strong aversion to the business and duties of the former. His talents and merit soon attracted public notice. Mr. Latimer[64] one of senators in congress from Delaware resigned his seat; and during the recess of the state legislature, Mr. Bassett, his former instructor being governor, appointed Mr. White senator to congress. By virtue of this appointment he took his seat in the senate on the 4th of March 1801. At the next session of the legislature of Delaware they elected him senator. They afterwards twice re-elected him to that office for the term of six years for each election. The last term would not, if he had lived have terminated till the 3rd of March 1815.

On the 6th day of December 1802, the day I took my seat in the senate, my acquaintance with Mr. White commenced, & during the five sessions I was there, we lived on terms of intimacy and friendship. At this time, except when congress was in session, he lived in Wilmington, Delaware.

No Senator was more punctual in his attendance than Mr. White. He attended on the first day of each session, and continued to the last; and during the whole time he held that office he was not absent scarce a single day. As he was constant in his attendance, he formed an opinion for himself on the various subjects, that came before the senate, and never declined voting on any subject, because it was unpopular, or might offend a friend. In his politics he was a firm undeviating, but candid, federalist.

His mind was improved by reading, study, and conversation; but when not actively employed he was inclined to indolence. When roused by a strong

63. Ann Ridgely wrote her mother from Philadelphia, Feb. 17, 1799: "I saw White on Sunday in the street dres't in full uniform, and he really looks like *Captain Strut.*" Mabel Lloyd Ridgely (ed.), *The Ridgelys of Delaware & Their Circle, What Them Befell* (Portland, Me., 1949), p. 246.

64. Dr. Henry Latimer (1752-1819).

motive to action, he was industrious, and displayed great facility in making himself master of the subject he investigated. In active persuit he was eager, bold, and enterprising — patient under fatigue, prompt and fruitful in resources. He did not speak often in the senate, and in desultory debate was not distinguished; but on great and extraordinary occasions, when subjects were deliberately discussed, he displayed talents and eloquence. His speech on the bill prohibiting commerce with St. Domingo — on the subject of canals — as well as several others, which were printed, exhibit plenary proof of his information and talents as a statesman, and of his eloquence as a public speaker. His set speeches were usually studied, and the substance of them written and committed to memory. When he rose to address the senate, he usually laid his hat on the desk before him, and his brief behind the hat. His manner of speaking was easy and graceful, and his language bold and with precision, and his reasoning was logical and applied to his subject. When he stated facts within his own knowledge, or gave his opinion upon a subject which he had maturely considered, he did it with confidence, but tempered with that prudence and delicacy that seldom gave offence, or created disgust in an opponent. In a speech of two hours he did not tire the audience, or fatigue the senate.

To the reasoning of those who were opposed to him, he listened with that frankness and attention which influences those whose object is the discovery of truth. When their arguments convinced his mind, he thot it no dishonor to acknowledge his error, and retract his opinion. But he was never moved from his purpose by the violence or threats of an overbearing majority. I shall never forget his conduct, or his expressions, in the case of the impeachment of judge Pickering of New Hampshire.[65] The accused was insane, and of course incapable of making any defence — his friends proved the insanity, and moved to stay further proceedings; but the senate heard witnesses and evidence to prove the charges, and eventually rendered judgment against him. Before the principal question was taken, Mr. White moved to have the further consideration of the subject postponed; this motion was strenuously and successfully opposed. In the course of the debate he observed, "There had been no trial, no appearance, no plea, and no defence whatever on the part of the accused. His friends have shewn that the accused is in *default,* not from *contempt to the court,* but by the awful visitation of God, who hath deprived him of reason. Our proceedings, therefore, scarcely deserve the name of a *mock-trial.*" Hon. Wilson Carey Nicholas, a senator from Virginia, vociferated "Order,

65. The most recent discussion of this affair, with reference to White's part in it, is by Lynn W. Turner, "The Impeachment of John Pickering," *American Historical Review,* LIV (1949), 485-507.

order, order — I will not submit to hear our proceedings called by the degrading name of a mock-trial." As soon as Mr. Nicholas was seated Mr. White addressing himself to the president said, "I am in order Sir and while I have a seat in this honorable body I will act and speak *my opinion,* and that with freedom. If any gentleman's feelings are wounded, I am the innocent cause — 'tis the truth I have uttered that wounds. I assure the gentleman from Virginia I wish not to offend him, or any other member of this high court; but if truth is offensive, he and they must bear it. I did say, and I again repeat, our proceedings upon this impeachment afford no evidence of a regular trial, but the reverse — they have been farcical — a mere *mock-trial.* If that gentleman is offended, I assure him as I have spoken the words of truth and soberness, I shall not retract them; but he will find me ready and willing to give him satisfaction at any time and place he may please to name. At all events, he shall again and again hear the same language — he shall hear it within and without these walls — and the nation shall hear it." He afterwards published an account of the proceedings of the senate upon this impeachment.

He was zealously opposed to the slave trade; and whenever the subject came before the senate he advocated those measures which tended to restrain and prohibit that nefarious traffic.

In private life he was much and deservedly esteemed. He was a man of unblemished integrity and unsullied honor. His manners were frank and unassuming — polished and graceful. He united an excellent temper and fine disposition with correct and honorable principles; and possessed the pleasing talent of sprightly interesting conversation in such a degree that his company was sought by all who knew him. He enjoyed the pleasures of the table and bottle with great temperance; and altogether declined cards and all games of hazard.[66]

Having imbibed much of the military spirit he considered duelling justifiable, tho I believe he never fought himself; but in several instances acted as a second, particularly to Mr. Gardeneir in his duel with Mr. G. W. Campbell.[67] He practiced shooting with the pistol, and in the language of the *turf* was a *dead shot.* He and his former colleague, William Hill Wells, a most amiable man, often used the pistol in a way few men would hazard. The one

66. "Samuel White, senator from Delaware told me that he himself never plays cards not even for a Cent. This is a man of highly polished manners." Brown, *Plumer's Memorandum,* p. 608.

67. George Washington Campbell (1769-1848), later senator and secretary of the treasury, was a Democratic representative from Tennessee, 1803-1809. He fought a duel with Barent Gardenier ( -1822), Federalist representative from New York, 1807-1811, who had charged that the House of Representatives was under French control.

would hold a shingle in his hand, and the other stand five or six paces distant and shoot a ball through it. From holding the shingle at arms length proceeded to falling on their knees and setting the shingle up edgways on their heads, and the other shooting at it as before; this they did alternately. I was once accidentally a witness of their dangerous experiments, and saw the shingle perforated with their balls.

Tho Mr. White was very attentive to the ladies, and his company was courted by those in the higher circles, yet he never married.[68] He was peculiarly attentive and neat in his dress, but not finical. He had the advantage of a fine person and manly appearance. He was near six feet high and well proportioned, but not corpulent. The portrait prefixed at the head of this article which himself presented to the writer was a correct likeness of him.

On the morning of the 4th of November 1809, with calm resignation and unshaken fortitude, he died at Wilmington in the thirty ninth year of his age. His death was occasioned by the rupture of a blood vessel in the stomach, which had several times occurred during the two preceeding years. On the 29th of the same month, the senate of the United States, unanimously resolved, out of respect for his memory, to wear mourning one month. This was a tribute of respect, they owed to a man, whose heart was as pure as ever breathed in that capitol.

68. The Ridgely girls frequently mentioned White in their correspondence. Williamina Ridgely, writing her mother from Philadelphia, April 27, 1803, alluded to Samuel White's "intended" in Wilmington. Williamina's sister, Ann, passed along a rumor from Wilmington, June 20, 1805, that White was courting a Miss Bordley. Five years earlier, Aug. 18, 1800, writing from Dover to Sally Banning, in Wilmington, Ann Ridgely had asked about the report that White was courting Maria, the daughter of John Dickinson; "what," she asked Sally, "shall you, E[liza] Wilson and I do; wear the willow, I suppose." Leon deValinger, Jr., and Virginia E. Shaw (eds.), *A Calendar of Ridgely Family Letters, 1742-1899* (Dover, 1948), I, 231, 267, 325.

# *News Notes and Book Reports*

A blazing midsummer sun, June 16, accentuated the color and pageantry of the tercentenary celebration in New Castle. An estimated ten to twelve thousand attended the town's anniversary of its founding by the Dutch in 1651. In addition to addresses given by representatives of the federal, state, and local governments, greetings from the Netherlands were presented by J. H. van Roijen, ambassador to the United States, who awarded decorations in the Order of Orange Nassau to the following Delawareans: Governor Elbert N. Carvel, Mayor Paul R. Capelle, Miss Constance Moore, director of the Delaware Art Center, and the following members of the Tercentenary Commission: Thomas Holcomb II, Miss Jeannette Eckman, and Mrs. J. Danforth Bush, Jr. New Castle was lent, for the occasion by the Netherlands government, a collection of original Dutch manuscripts pertaining to the Dutch settlements on the Delaware and received as a gift from the city of Amsterdam a collection of microfilm copies of other important documents of the same period. The city of Amstel, from which New Castle received one of its early names, presented a glass bowl to its namesake.

Official representatives from Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg were present for the program which also included Dutch folk dances and songs, the anchoring of the Dutch ships "Van Zijll" and "De Zeeuw" off the battery, a Marine Band concert, a token meeting of the Delaware state legislature, and an historical pageant, "The Dutch on the Delaware," portraying the first thirteen years in the history of New Castle. The pageant was presented by the citizens of New Castle from a script prepared by Miss Jeannette Eckman, director and historian of the Tercentenary Commission. On Sunday, June 17, commemorative services were held in the New Castle Presbyterian Church, of which the first little Dutch Church on the Strand was the forerunner.

As one of the tercentenary features, an elaborate display of manuscripts, books, furniture, china, and glass, of the seventeenth century or showing Dutch influence, was exhibited in the Academy from June 15 to 17. Besides items of furnishings from many private collections, including one lent by Mr. J. Kenneth Danby, of Wilmington, which covered the entire second floor of the Academy, the government of the Netherlands and the library of the University of Delaware lent manuscripts and maps of the seventeenth century.

The 1951 annual meeting of the members of the Historical Society, April 9, was dedicated to the tercentenary anniversary of the founding of New

Castle. Mrs. J. Danforth Bush, Jr., and Mr. James T. Eliason, Jr., both members of the Tercentenary Commission, addressed the members on various Dutch contributions to life and culture in the New Castle colony.

A silver miniature statue of a British officer in the 1780 uniform of the regiment of the Duke of Wellington was presented during the evening to the Historical Society by a representative of that regiment, Colonel Robert Moran, a liaison representative at Fort Monroe, Virginia. The replica was a gift of appreciation by the regiment for assistance by the Historical Society in research concerning the activities of the unit during the Revolutionary War and particularly at Yorktown.

Following the addresses and the presentation of the statue, the guests adjourned to view the museum, which contained the recent loan of a tall case clock, made in the late eighteenth century by a Wilmington clockmaker, Thomas Crow. Other recent exhibits of documents and water colors by Robert Shaw pertained primarily to New Castle: some original documents of land patents and surveys in or near New Castle contain signatures of Peter Stuyvesant, Edmund Andros, and Francis Lovelace, and one of the aquarelles by Shaw on display presents a scene of the New Castle waterfront, copied from a panel of an early steamboat which plied between Packet Alley and Philadelphia.

Among other contributions by the Society to the tercentenary celebration were aid in historical research and the dedication of its spring issue, *Delaware History,* to a series of studies concerning New Castle.

The exhibition of paintings by seventeenth century Dutch masters from May 6 through June 17 at the Delaware Art Center was the major event preceding the tercentenary celebration. From public and private museums came examples of the work of such Dutch artists as Rembrandt, Franz Hals, Pieter de Hoogh, Jan Steen, Ruisdael, Fabritius, Cuyp, Wouverman, Capelle, van Goyen, Backhuysen, Hondecoeter, and Molenaer.

The annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History was held on the campus of the University of Delaware, June 14-16, in order to permit the members to attend the New Castle tercentenary celebration. Along with a series of panel discussions, the program included a tour, guided by Drs. Henry C. Reed, of the University of Delaware, and Thomas D. Cope, of the University of Pennsylvania, to the nearby Mason and Dixon boundary stones in Delaware and Maryland.

On Thursday evening the Association members attended an open house at the Old Town Hall. The museum, the collections of manuscripts, the library, and newspapers, and the microfilm reader, all were found of interest by the visitors until their departure at 11:30 P. M.

During the session of June 15, the rich sources in the Delaware Valley for historical research were pointed out in surveys by Morris L. Radoff, of the Maryland State Archives, Nicholas B. Wainwright, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, John A. Munroe, of the University of Delaware, and Richard McCormick, of the New Jersey Historical Society and Rutgers University. Dr. McCormick, in fact, suggested that the essence of American history might be found in this valley, considering its varied heritages and developments. Along with the files of other Delaware libraries, the manuscript, newspaper, and photographic collections of the Historical Society were mentioned in detail by Dr. Munroe.

Following a luncheon of Delaware broilers in Dover, and an address on the broiler industry by S. T. Rice, of the University of Delaware, the members were received in the executive suite in the State House and toured Dover and the state offices, guided by State Archivist Leon deValinger, Jr., and his staff.

The tercentenary day, June 16, was spent in New Castle. Among the awards presented by the Association to outstanding individuals and organizations in the United States in the field of local history, was a citation to the New Castle Tercentenary Commission.

"Old New Castle and Modern Delaware," an exhibition of original manuscripts and documents, books, and maps, held in the Library of Congress, opened June 1 for a display throughout the summer months. Dr. John A. Munroe reviewed the history of Delaware at the formal opening of the collection. Included in the exhibit were the original street elevations of New Castle, made by the architectural firms, Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, of Boston, and Pope and Kruse, of Wilmington, who compiled in 1946 the collection that is on deposit in the library of the Historical Society.

One of the most useful items for research in any library, a microfilm reader, has recently been acquired by the Society. Mr. Robert H. Richards, a director of the Society, presented in 1941 twenty-one reels of microfilm copy of the *Pennsylvania Gazette,* from 1728 to 1789, the first item of the Society's microfilm collection. In addition, the reader has been used by researchers who have personal copies of microfilm, but no reader, and those who

are able to secure works, available only on microfilm, from other libraries on interlibrary loan to the Society. The latter use opens a wide field for researchers who are far removed from other sources of Delaware history. Its purchase has made possible the acquisition from other libraries of copies of Delaware materials that are available most inexpensively in this medium.

To the papers of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company owned previously by the Society, has been added a gift of around two hundred items of printed reports, newspaper clippings, letters, minute books, and maps, by Mrs. Walter Hall, whose late husband was president of the Salem Historical Society of New Jersey and a former president of the canal. Such a gift represents co-operation between historical societies that this Society hopes to emulate. A survey of the area in 1792 by Frisby Henderson is the earliest item in the collection that includes minutes of the board meetings from June 1, 1835, to October 29, 1919, when the company was purchased by the Federal government, which held stock in the company. The advisability of the canal had been considered by colonial writers as early as 1680, but the company was not chartered until 1799, by the state of Maryland, and incorporated by Delaware in 1801. Final organization was completed in a meeting in Wilmington, in 1803, and the canal opened, October 17, 1829.

The Society's manuscript collections of Penn patents and Delaware deeds, have been expanded by a gift of some deeds, dating from the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, through the kindness of Mrs. Mary D. Cahall and Mr. Henry P. Scott III, both of Wilmington. The documents concern members of the Willing, Stidham, Grubb, and Pennock families.

Lewes is the primary subject of the collection of newspapers, scrapbooks, a manuscript diary, and miscellaneous papers, which has been presented to the Society by Mrs. Caleb S. Layton, of Wilmington.

Photostatic copies of two original letters relating to the expedition of Peter Stuyvesant to Fort Casimir in 1655 have been acquired by the Historical Society through the courtesy of the New-York Historical Society. The letters were written by Johannes Bogaert, *schrijver,* writer or clerk, and addressed to Schepen Hans Bontemantel, a director of the West India Company, in Amsterdam. Bogaert was a member of the expedition from Holland via New Amsterdam to Fort Casimir, which returned to New Amsterdam. Translations of the two Dutch manuscripts, which are not included in the Brodhead and O'Callaghan collections, were published in the *Historical Magazine* (Vol. II, pp. 257-59), September, 1858, copies of which were also supplied by the New-York Society.

A copy of the *Journal of the Senate of the State of Delaware,* for each of the sessions beginning November 3, 1800, and January 6, 1801, printed in Dover by William Black in 1801, has been presented to the Society by Mr. Charles Warner, Jr., of Wilmington. During the former session, Kensey Johns, Samuel White, and Nathaniel Mitchell were appointed the Delaware electors for what became the controversial presidential election of 1800, which was thrown into the House of Representatives. Among bills of the latter session was one to establish a ferry across the Delaware at New Castle, one to abolish duelling, and two to prevent swine from running at large in Georgetown and Frederica.

Four antique silver spoons by Delaware silversmiths have been acquired by the Society for display in the silver collection in the Old Town Hall. Three tablespoons are the work of Piner Mansfield, who was also a clock and watchmaker and an itinerant Methodist minister, as well. Born on September 27, 1781, in Charlestown, Maryland, he came to Smyrna at the age of twenty and was appointed May 25, 1808, a lieutenant of the Third Company, Fourth Regiment of the militia. A prominent Smyrna merchant, he announced in 1820 that he was recommencing his silver work; he also served as town commissioner, 1829-30, and 1832-33, and as town treasurer in 1845. The fourth spoon, a coin silver tablespoon, about nine inches in length, was the gift of Mrs. Charles Weston, of Wilmington. The spoon, with the dove of peace and olive branch on the back of the bowl, has the maker's touch of Robert Ross, of Frederica, very little of whose work has been found.

"Tea" meaning "supper" was a common expression about a generation ago in the eleventh district of Baltimore County, Maryland, which lies for the most part between the Great and Little Falls of Gunpowder River. Mr. William B. Marye, in his "Words and Expressions used in Maryland," in the June, 1951, issue of *Maryland History* (Vol. XLVI, pp. 124-36), reports that in his childhood days his family and neighbors said "tea," a usage with a southern flavor, which is found in Virginia, on the Eastern Shore, and was probably at one time common in all of the older counties of the Western Shore. Mr. Marye has raised the question if it were common in the Midland Speech Area, outside of Baltimore County, to which we may answer that it is to be found in nineteenth century records of New Castle County, Delaware. James Vandyke Moore, for example, of Odessa (see September, 1950, issue of *Delaware History,* Vol. IV, p. 97), recorded of his 1826-28 visit to relatives in Ohio that during an all day strawberry party, the group "added Strawberry[s] to our Lunch which we had along with us — all had a *good time,* got back home in time for Tea."

Mrs. Phoebe George Bradford, whose husband, Moses Bradford, was the editor of the *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington) uses the phrase frequently in her diaries, 1832-39, which are in the manuscript collections of the Society. On January 19, 1833, for example, she noted that "B[radford, her husband] came over to tea. At Mrs. Reads [a guest] request [he] asked a blessing before supper. The first time I have heard him." On February 21, of the same year, she recorded that "2 young ladies had been here to request the pleasure of Mr. Edward Bradford's [her son] Society tomorrow evening to tea." On February 22: "Edward . . . just arrived there as supper was over — poor boy! this was sad for one so fond of good things." Mrs. Bradford's diaries would support Mr. Marye's belief that the word "dinner" was reserved for more formal occasions: January 19, 1833: "We prepare to receive Mrs. Wales, and H. Caverly to dinner — and just as I was dressed in my best bib and tucker — Mr. Patten came to say that Harriet Caverly was leaving . . . . I was particularly desirous that Mrs. Wales should dine with me."

Two requests for information have been made of the Historical Society and its members by researchers in special aspects of Delaware history. Mr. Charles G. Dorman, of Wilmington, is at present preparing a monograph on Delaware clockmakers, which will extend the work on that subject by Henry C. Conrad, which was published by the Society in 1898. Miss Julia Simmons, of Huntington Beach, California, is preparing a catalog of manuscript diaries written in the United States. Any reader who knows of the existence of such a diary in Delaware, which is not in the files of Delaware libraries to which Miss Simmons has already directed inquiries, is requested to send this information to the Old Town Hall. Data on Delaware diarists and clockmakers will be forwarded by the Society to Miss Simmons and Mr. Dorman.

The response by the public to the cover design of the June, 1951, issue of *Delaware History* was so favorable that prints of it in black on heavy white paper, suitable for framing, have been made. The print of the drawing, by John B. Moll, Jr., of Oxford, Maryland, measures ten by sixteen inches and sells for twenty-five cents. Copies may be purchased at the Old Town Hall, the Greenwood Book Shop, in Wilmington, and the None Such Shop, in New Castle.

All members of the Society, who are not using or do not wish to preserve their copies of early issues of *Delaware History,* are requested to contribute copies of the following issues of the magazine to the Old Town Hall for those libraries and scholars who wish to acquire copies. The out of print

issues are as follows: Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1946); Vol. II, No. 1 (March, 1947); Vol. III, Nos. 2 and 3 (September, 1948, and March, 1949); Vol. IV, No. 1 (March, 1950). Several libraries with such requests are dependent for their copies upon the generosity of our members.

## New Publications of Delaware Interest

*The Organization of State Administration in Delaware,* by Paul Dolan, published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1951 (number 1, series LXVIII, in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*) is the first systematic approach to a discussion of the informal as well as the formal aspects of administrative organization of a state government. After considering attempts at administrative reform, especially the Delaware survey of 1919, and those qualities of the land and the people which influence government, Dr. Dolan surveys constitutional patterns, statutory organization, informal organization at agency level, and informal administrative arrangements under the chief executive. Noting the strong tendency to disperse authority as far as formal organization is concerned, to which the existence of more than seventy administrative agencies bears witness, he demonstrates that a contrary tendency toward the concentration of control over the execution of public policy has developed through informal arrangements of board members and professional directors of agencies, and that the governor, often reluctantly, has been the most important factor in this centralizing process by reason of his control over the budget. Dr. Dolan believes that a study of these informal administrative arrangements provides the clue for realistic plans for the reorganization of state government.

*Indian Place-Names in Delaware,* by A. R. Dunlap and C. A. Weslager, published by the Archaeological Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1950, is a study of the names of Indian origin or otherwise associated with Indians which have been given to towns, hills, lakes, rivers, bays, and other physical features in Delaware. Both extant and obsolete names are included, and an attempt is made to locate precisely the place named, to list the early citations of each name, to record variations, and to explain origins. Appoquinimink, Assawoman, Choptank, Hockessin, Kiamensi, Mispillion, Naamans, Nanticoke, and Pocomoke are some of the extant names listed.

*Portraits in Delaware, 1700-1850,* is a check list compiled by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Delaware and published in Wilmington in 1951. Just under three hundred portraits now owned in Delaware are listed and described, with biographical notes on the artists and

many of the subjects. Thirty-six illustrations are included in the volume. It is interesting to note that more portraits of Washington, seven, are listed than of anyone else. There are also three Franklin portraits, but none of Jefferson, Madison, or Hamilton. Mirabeau, Turgot, Lafayette, Clay, and Webster are among the other non-Delawareans listed, and there are self-portraits by Copley and Robert Fulton. Three Macdonough portraits and three of duPont de Nemours are the largest representations of any single Delawarean, by birth or adoption. The work of the leading portraitists of the period is to be found here, but not one of the artists was a native Delawarean. This check list is not exhaustive; other volumes may follow.

The Maryland Board of Natural Resources has published as its *Bulletin 4,* dated at Annapolis, January 1, 1951, an illustrated booklet, *Boundary Monuments on the Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries,* by William H. Bayliff. An historical introduction relates the tale of the boundary disputes and of the surveys and resurveys of the boundary lines, while the main section of the study is a detailed account of the condition of the markers in 1950, each stone being described. Recommendations are also included for the marking of the Maryland-Delaware boundaries.

*Packet Alley: a Magic Story of Now and Long Ago,* is the second book for children written by Elisabeth Meg, a pen name used jointly by Mrs. Elisabeth Wenning Goepp and Mrs. Margaret Webb Sanders. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1951, this volume tells of two children living on the Strand who are magically transported into New Castle's golden past.

The April, 1951, issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. LXXV) contains several articles of especial interest to Delawareans. Nicholas B. Wainwright's account of the "Voyage of the Frigate 'Congress,' 1823" (pp. 170-88), is concerned with the quarrel which developed on that voyage between Captain James Biddle and his passenger, Caesar Augustus Rodney, first American minister to Buenos Aires. The story is told from Biddle's viewpoint primarily, and his explanatory letter to the Secretary of the Navy is included. John E. Pomfret's article on "The Proprietors of the Province of West New Jersey, 1674-1704" (pp. 117-46) is of interest locally because it illustrates the intercolonial aspects of Quaker colonizing ventures and because several of the proprietors later settled in Delaware. A note by Leonard N. Beck, "Pennsylvania and an Early Russian Radical" (pp. 193-96), cites a reference to the Delaware Constitution in an eighteenth-century Russian book.

Much interesting Delaware material is to be found in *Quakers and Sla-*

*very in America,* by Thomas E. Drake, published by the Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950, especially in references to the activities of Warner Mifflin, Enoch and Evan Lewis, Elizabeth Chandler, Paul Cuffe, and Thomas Garrett.

*New Castle, Delaware: a Bibliography in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of the Founding of New Castle,* has been compiled by Paul William Kelly, of the University of Delaware Library, and published by the Newark Printing Company, Newark, 1951. Over two hundred items are listed. This bibliography was not intended to be exhaustive but rather to contain only those printed and processed items to be found in the libraries of the Historical Society, the Wilmington Institute, and the University of Delaware.

*The Far Side of Paradise,* Arthur Mizener's popular biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald, published by Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, includes a short account of Fitzgerald's stay at Ellerslie, north of Wilmington, from 1927 to 1929.

In the first issue of the *Delaware Folklore Bulletin,* March, 1951, appears an article by Harvey C. Moore on "Folklore of Port Penn's Past."

"Maybe That Stuff's Worth Money!" an article by Edward Shenton in the *Saturday Evening Post* for February 24, 1951 (Vol. CCXXIII, pp. 141-42), tells of the second-hand book business of William C. Baldwin, proprietor of Baldwin's Book Barn, near West Chester, and incidentally mentions the origin of several of the manuscript collections now owned by the Historical Society of Delaware.

An article by George Valentine Massey II relating of life in the early Delaware settlements is entitled, "Walraven Jansen de Vos: His Family and a Manslaughter at South River," which appeared in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April, 1951 (Vol. LXXXII, pp. 70-77).

Another article by Mr. Massey entitled, "Priscilla Kitchen, Delaware Ancestress, and Her Family" appears in the spring, 1951, issue of *Delaware Cavalcade,* along with articles on the State Museum, New Castle, soil conservation, and the State police.

An article by George W. Kyte, "An Introduction to the Periodical Literature Bearing upon Loyalist Activities in the Middle Atlantic States, 1775-1783," in *Pennsylvania History* for April, 1951 (Vol. XVIII, pp. 104-18), contains some references to Delaware and to Harold Hancock's study of loyalism here.

# INDEX


Abolition; *see* Slavery

Academies: New Castle, 161, opp. 169, 181, 188-91, 204, 205, opp. 206, 214; Newark, 149-56, 160; Pequea, 361*n*; Smyrna, 99*n*; Washington, 163

Academy of Natural Science, Delaware, 63, 310

"Adamant" (Brit. ship), 346, 347

Adams, James (printer), 165

Adams, John, 224, 364-65

Adams, John Quincy: character, 359; correspondence, 361; in politics, 224, 225, 354, 355

Adams, Nathan, 73

Adams, Peter, 111, 118, 120

Addicks, John Edward, 224

Adler, Frank, 164

Agénois Regiment, 116

Agricultural Society of New Castle County, 70, 86, 88*n*

Agriculture, Delaware: conservation, 21, 386; grains, 22, 26, 70, 73*n*, 77*n*, 79, 81, 82, 83, 96, 114, 231, 267, 285, 327; labor, 18, 114, 275, 277, 294; livestock, 18, 22, 31, 114, 337, 347, 350, 351; potatoes, 82, 114; poultry, 164, 309, 380; prices, 327; production, 26, 60, 70; sugar camp, 77, 82, 91, 92, 96; tobacco, 232, 259, 274; tools, 82-83, 92, 296, 327, 329, 332, 347; *see also* Foods, Fruits, Timber

Albertsen, Hans, 270

Aldrichs; *see* Alrichs

Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, 368

Alexander, Archibald, 339

Alexander, Robert, 4, 25

Alexander, William, 143

Alford, P., 157

Alien and Sedition Acts, 213-14

Alison, Francis, 153

Alison, Patrick, 153

Allegiance, Oaths of, 298

Allen, Andrew, 153, 342

Allen, Herbert B., 305

Allen, Isaac, 33

Allen, Moses, 31

Allen, Richard, 65

Allen, William, 151, 152*n*, 153

Allerton, Isaac, 256, 273

Almond, John, 317, 319, 353

Almond, William, 317, 319, 324

Alrichs, Jacob, 232-36, 276, 277-92, 298-300

Alrichs, Mrs. Jacob, 288

Alrichs, Peter, 228, 237, 239, 240, 276, 289, 311

Alrichs, Wessell, 311

American Army; *see* Continental Army

American Association for State and Local History, 379

American Party; *see* Know Nothing Party

American Revolution: battles, 73, 105, 106, 119, 121, 147, 161, 311, 322, 332, 337, 339, 348, 350; campaigns (1777), 17, 19, 23; southern, 74, 322, 330-32, 348-49; foreign troops, 73, 108, 119, 133*n*, 135, 137, 138, 147, 161-62, 329-32, 334, 335, 337, 352; hospitals, 321, 336, 338, 346; Middle Colonies, 51, 161-62; mob violence, 16, 323-24, 334, 337; orderly books, 105-48; prisoners, 73, 74, 322, 323, 348-49, 350; privateering, 321, 335, 337, 350; property damages, 73; recruiting, 74, 108; spies, 329, 330, 331; treason, 333; *see also* Arms and Ammunition, Bassett, Richard, insurrection of; Brandywine, Charlestown, Committees of Correspondence, Continental Army, Continental Congress, Loyalists, Regiments, Delaware; Savannah, Ga.; Trenton, N. J.; Whigs, Yorktown

*American Watchman* (Wilmington), 61

Amstel, Holland, 378

Amstel River, Holland, 278

Amstelveen, Holland, 278

Amsterdam, Holland: South River colony, 240*n*, 250, 277, 288, 295

Amusements: cardplaying, 367, 368; dancing, 81, 97, 306

"Anchorage" (house), 312

Anderson, Abraham, 319

Anderson, James, 160

Anderson, Thomas, 147

Andries, Mons, 268, 269

Andriessen, Jan, 270

Andros, Edmund: governor, 73, 228, 229-30, 240, 242, 243*n*, 379
Anglican Church: clergy, 163, 316; Loyalists, 23; *see also* Protestant Episcopal Church
Angola, Del., 1, 5
Antill, Edward, 112, 115, 139, 144
Anti-Tuberculosis Society, 60
Aorson, Aaron, 115, 120, 143
Appleton, Mr., 323
Appleton, Robert, 323, 324
Appoquinimink (Apoquinimy, Opigiminy) Creek, 62, 73*n*, 85, 384
Appoquinimink Hundred, 69, 88*n*, 319
Apprenticeship: indentures, 307
Arbitration, 242
Archaeological Society of Delaware, 384
Architecture: Delaware Valley, 310, 312; New Castle, 171-206, 226, 284; *see also* Houses
Archives; *see* Delaware, public records
Argentina: American ministers, 222, 372, 385
Arms and Ammunition: American magazines, 23; Dutch forts, 295; French musket, 327; fuzee, 31; marksmen's skill, 376, 377; for Loyalists, 16; at Yorktown, 111, 138
Armstrong, William, 160, 327
Art: Dutch, 236, 290, 291, 303-4, 379; Ferris drawings, 62; paintings (c. 1787), 347; portraits, 63, 306; silhouettes, 62; water colors, 379; *see also* Artists
Arthur, James, 140
Articles of Confederation, 210
Artists: Delaware, 165, 384-85; Max Neugas, 159; Robert Shaw, 305
Asbury, Francis, 373*n*
Ashley River, S. C., 148
Assawoman (Assawawmott) Bay, 230, 384
Assembly, Provincial, 10-15; *see also* House of Assembly
Astronomers, 64
Attorney-General: of Delaware, 214; of U. S., 371
Atwood, Isaac, 319, 320, 353
Austic, John, 36

Backman, Daniel A., 308
Baer, George, 364
Baldwin, Jedutham, 129
Baldwin, William C., 161, 386
Balfour, Nisbet, 23
Ballard, Jeremiah, 131
Balls, 306
Baltimore, Lord; *see* Calvert
Baltimore, Md., 3, 89
*Baltimore Evening Post*, 305
Baltimore Hundred, 51, 52, 58
Bancker, Adrian, 306
Banishment, 280, 290
Banks, W. Norman, opp. 206
Banks: Farmers, 219; incorporations, 217*n*; Milford, 84; national, 221
Banning, Sally, 377*n*
Baptist Churches: Seventh Day, 66
Barbadoes, 238
Barber, Francis, 110, 140, 145
Barentsen, Frederick, 275
Barker, Mr., 335
Barker, Mrs. Leatherberry, 8
Barley, 26
Barron, James, 304, 371
Bassett, Ann; *see* Ann Bassett Bayard
Bassett, Richard, 361*n*, 373, 374; insurrection (1776), 161
Bates, Daniel Moore, 60
Bates, Mrs. Daniel Moore, 63
Bauduy, Victorine Elizabeth duPont, 162
Bauman, Sebastian, 115, 116, 117
Bausman, Robert O., 159
Baxter, George, 257
Bayard, James A. (1738-1770), 361
Bayard, James A. (1767-1815): biography, 217, 354, 359-69, 373*n*; character, 360, 370; correspondence, 224
Bayard, John, 361, 365*n*
Bayard, Samuel, 365
Bayard family, 365
Bayliff, William H., 385
Beauregard, Peter, 307
Beck, Leonard N., 385
Beckwith, George, 5, 27, 28, 29
Bedford, Gunning, Sr. (1742-97), 212, 327, 343
Beeckman (Beekman), William, 236, 240*n*, 282-83, 289-93, 295-97, 299
Beeson, Jesper, 317
Benedictines, Order of, 165
Benevolent Society, New Castle Female, 220
Bennett, Caleb Prew: biography, 105-8; campaigns, 105-48; court martial, 107-8; portrait, opp. 105

Bennett, Elizabeth Prew Wiley, 106
Bennett, Jehu, 53
Bennett, Joseph, 106
Bennett, William T., 159
Bethany Beach, 53, 55, 57, 58
Bicker, Gerrit, 257, 261, 262, 265, 270, 298
Biddle, James, 385
Biggs, Benjamin F., 163
Bird, John, 212, 219
Bird, Robert Montgomery, 219, 226
Bird, Thomas, 321*n*
Bird, W. Edwin, 164
Bissell, Emily P., 60, 311
Black, Jeannette D., 65
Black, John J., 86
Black, Samuel H., 70, 223, 224
Black, William, 382
Blackbird, Del., 104
Blackbird Creek, 228*n*
Blacksmiths: Negroes, 34
Blackwell, John, 308
Bleeker, Leonard, 117
Blewer, George, 131
Block, Hans, 235, 237, 289, 298
Blue Ball Inn, 104
*Blue Hen's Chicken* (Wilmington), 306
Bocking Bridge Creek, 228*n*
Boers, Laars, 268, 269
Bogaert, Johannes, 381
"Bohemia" (house), 312
Bohemia Manor, 66
Bohemia River, 62
Bombay Hook (Boomtiens Hoeck): Dutch control, 228, 229*n*, 232, 255; Loyalists, 324
Bonsal, Vincent, 60
Bontemantel, Hans, 381
Books: Dutch colony, 280, 291; rare, 386
Booth, Elizabeth, 219*n*
Booth, James, 21, 212, 343
Bordley, Miss, 377*n*
Boston, Mass.: abolitionists, 37-38; aid to New Castle, 219-20; relief, 2
Botanical Society of Wilmington, 310
Boyd, Adam, 153
Boyd, Julian P., 164
Boyer, Alexander (Sander), 259, 263, 268, 269, 270
Boyer, Mrs. Alexander, 259, 263
Boyer, John, 259
Boyer, Josyn; *see* Josyn Boyer Marshall Semple
Boyer, Thomas, 259
Bradford, Andrew, 66
Bradford, Edward, 383
Bradford, Moses, 383
Bradford, Mrs. Phoebe George, 383
Bradford, Thomas (printer), 10
Bradford, William (printer), 10
Bradley, Isaac, 11
Braey, Gysbert, 268, 273
Brandywine, battle of, 106, 322, 332, 337, 339, 348, 350
Brandywine Chalybeate Springs Company, 64
Brandywine Hundred, Del., 319, 324
Brandywine River: maps, 304; mills, 311
Brandywine Springs, 64
Brandywine Valley: conservation, 311
Bricks: courses, 172, 174, 175, 179, 183, 184, 189, 198, 205; Dutch, 299; yards, 77, 79, 93
Bridges: Fort Casimir, 232; Newport, 218*n*, 220; photographs, 306; tumble, 100, 101; Wilmington, 216, 218*n*, 305
Bridgeville, Del., 309
*Bridgewater Collection of Sacred Music*, 91-92
Bridgman, Carl T., 160
Brigham, Clarence S., 311
Brincklé, Gertrude, 60
*Bring Out Your Dead*, by J. H. Powell, 65
Bringhurst, Mary T., 61
Brix, Mrs. Maurice, 157
Broadkill Creek, 26
Brobson, Frank, 304
Brobson, James, 304
Brobson, William, 304
Brobson, William P.: correspondence, 224*n*, 225*n*, 304; diary, 226
Brobson family, 304
Brooks, Capt., 323
Broom, Mr., 327
Broom, James M., 215, 220
Brown, Catherine; *see* Catherine Brown Morris
Brown, H. Glenn, 165
Brown, Maude O., 165
Brown, Nicholas, 65

Brown, Robert, 353
Brown, Thomas, 259, 264, 268, 269
Brownsville, Pa., 93
Bryan, Charles W., Jr., 62
Bryson, Charles, 317
Buchan, William, 319
Buchanan, Arthur, 328
Buchanan, James, 40, 41, 42
Buckmister, Lettitia; *see* Lettitia Buckmister Hamm
Burgomasters: Delaware colony, 233
Burgoyne, John, 335
Burlington, N. J.: courts, 227
Burns, Anthony, 37-38
Burr, Aaron, 363, 364
Burton, Joshua, 20
Burton, Nancy, 35
Burton, William, 20
Busaine, Mattys, 273
Bush, Mrs. J. Danforth, Jr., 378, 379
Butcher, Robert, 8
Butler, Richard, 110*n*, 121, 144
Butterfield, Lyman H., 308
Butz, George W., 65

Cahall, Mrs. Mary D., 381
Calhoon, Hugh, 315
Calhoun, John, 225
Calvert, Cecil (1605-75, second Lord Baltimore), 287, 307-8
*Campaigns of a Non-Combatant*, by G. A. Townsend, 164
Campbell, Archibald, 4, 17, 348
Campbell, George W., 376
Campbell, James, 147
Canada: Loyalists, 5, 6, 36; slaves, 43
Canals: Chesapeake and Delaware, 62, 222, 311, 381; federal aid, 221-22, 225, 375; Lewes and Rehoboth, 58; Ohio and Erie, 80*n*, 92*n*
Canby, William M., 310
Canby family, 62, 304
Cannon, Annie Jump, 64
Cannon, Arcada Robinson, 6, 34, 36
Canton, Ohio, 77, 79, 83, 93, 96
Cantwell, Edmund, 239, 243*n*, 259
Cantwell, Marrietje De Haes, 258-59
Cantwell's Bridge; *see* Odessa
Cape Henlopen: Dutch purchase, 228; inhabitants, 229*n*; lighthouse, 53; salt industry, 54, 57, 59
Cape James, 230; *see also* Cape Henlopen
Capelle, Paul R., 378
Capitals: Dutch colony, 294
Carlson, William S., 153*n*
Carpenter, Mary Louise Wootten, 312
Carpenter, Walter Samuel, Jr., 312
Carr, Sir Robert, 236, 297, 298
Carr, John, 237, 238, 239, 298
Carriages: chaise, 327; sulky, 103
Carroll, Kenneth, 163
Cartwright, Abraham, 69, 88, 89, 92, 101
Cartwright, Isaac, 69*n*
Cartwright, Isaac, Jr., 90
Cartwright, Jacob, 69*n*
Cartwright, Jacob, Jr., 90, 91
Cartwright, Rebecca Davis, 90*n*
Carvel, Elbert N., 378
Casimir, Henry, 257
Cass, Lewis, 71*n*, 72, 310
Catholic Churches: St. Anthony's, 65; St. Joseph's on the Brandywine, 65
Cattle; *see* Agriculture, livestock
Caverly, Harriet, 383
Cecil County, Md., 66
Cedar Creek, 5, 26, 29, 228*n*
Celebrations: Fourth of July, 99*n*; Yorktown, 324
Census, Delaware: (1810), 70*n*; (1820), 70*n*; (1830), 70*n*
Ceole, Cornelis Jansen, 260
Cereals; *see* Agriculture, grains
Chaise, 327
Chalfant, J. D., opp. 207
Chalmers, James, 332
Chamberlain, Joseph P., 67
Champlin, Christopher G., 366
Chandler, Elizabeth, 386
Chapel tract, 30
Charivaris: on frontier, 80
Charleston, S. C., 4, 17, 19, 147, 322, 331, 332, 349, 350
Chase, Samuel, 211, 212, 371
Chastellux, Francois-Jean, Chevalier de, 138
Chenery, St. John, 349
"Chesapeake" (frigate), 216, 371*n*
Chesapeake Bay: lighthouse, 27, 29; pilots, 4
Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 62, 222, 311, 381

Chester, Pa.: Swedish settlers, 253
Chester County Historical Society, 61
Chew, Samuel, 164
Chillicothe, Ohio, 71*n*
Choisy, Claude Gabriel, Marquis de, 138
Choptank River, 384
Christensen, Erwin O., 310
Christiana (Bridge), Del.: American Revolution, 108, 148, 318, 326-28; commerce, 216, 218*n*, 322, 350
Christiana Hundred, Del.: Loyalists, 319-20
Christie, John W., 160
Christina, Queen of Sweden, 48, 262
Christina: *see* Fort Altena
Christina River (Minquas Kill): bridge, 334; ferries, 276; Swedes, 240*n*, 253-55
Christmas seals, 60, 311
Churches: Anglicans, 23, 163, 316; Baptist, 66, 354; Catholic, 65; Crane Hook, 305; Drawyers, 74, 75*n*; Dutch Reformed, 249, 278, 283; on frontier, 80; glebes, 20, 30, 260, 270; Methodist, 87, 213, 312, 316, 323, 382; in politics, 213; Presbyterian, 149-56, opp. 169, 182-86, 198, 213, 219, 315, 378; Protestant Episcopal, 150, opp. 169, 181, 183, 186-88, opp. 206, 213, 260, 270, 305; Sunday Schools, 311; *see also* names of individual churches
Cincinnati, Society of the Order of the; *see* Society of the Order of the Cincinnati
Circuit Riders, 93*n*
Civil War: Delaware troops, 161, 305; draft, 306; prisons, 159, 311; records, 304, 305
Clark, Charles B., 163
Clark, John, 3, 16, 327
Clay, Mrs., 328
Clay, Henry, 360*n*, 385
Clayton, Thomas, 224, 225, 304
Cleyn, Elmerhuysen: councilman, 231, 235, 268, 269, 272, 289
Clinton, Gen. Sir Henry, 4, 17, 25, 26, 134, 321, 336, 338
Clinton, James, 111, 117, 121, 128, 131, 133, 136, 140, 141, 143, 144, 146
Cloak, E. M., 98*n*
Cloak, Ebenezer, 98
Cloak, John, 98
Cloak family, 78
Clocks and clockmakers: Thomas Crow, 379; Delaware, 31, 379, 382, 383; Piner Mansfield, 382; Mason-Dixon, 309; watches, 34
Clothing, 22, 337; colonial, 34, 260-61, 299; hats, 80, 104, 310; Indian trade, 256; waterproof, 103
Clow, Cheney, 163
Coal: bituminous, 65; mines, 92*n*
Cochran, Robert, 141
Cock (Cocke), Peter, 237, 240*n*
Coke, Thomas, 373
Cokesbury College, 373
Collier, John, 243*n*
Colonial Dames of Delaware; *see* Society of Colonial Dames of America (Delaware)
Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, 244*n*
Colter; *see* Coulter
Colve, Anthony, 229
Comfort, William Wistar, 37-47
Commerce: Bermuda, 52; coastal shipping, 4, 18, 25-26, 85, 221, 225, 282, 321, 339, 340, 341, 366, 367; Dutch colony, 294, 299, 300; manuscript records, 63; privateering, 293, 321, 323, 335, 350, 351, 352; smuggling, 282; West Indies, 375; *see also* Embargoes, Manufactures, Nonimportation Acts, Ships, West India Company, names of separate items of commerce
Committee of Correspondence: Kent County, 315; Sussex County, 2, 7, 9, 10, 315
Committee of Inspection: Kent County, 161
"Congress" (frigate), 304
Connelly, John, 317
Conner, Isaac, 319
Connolly, John, 349
Conotten, Ohio, 94, 95
Constitutions: Delaware (1776), 3; (1792), 211, 216, 385; (1831), 98*n*, 303; executive powers, 355; federal, 42, 210, 216; New Hampshire, 355; religious tests, 355; representation, 355
Continental Army: camps, 120; chaplains, 66; court martials, 111-12, 115, 131, 132, 136, 140; deserters, 74, 111, 118, 139, 330; diseases, 74; food, 51, 112, 118, 119, 135, 140, 147; foraging, 31, 119, 128, 351, 352; foreign troops, 142, 146; hospitals, 116, 123; officers, opp. 69, 72-74, 145, 146; pardons, 138-39; prisoners, 111; recruiting, 74; supplies, 117; sutlers, 119; tents, 136; at Wilmington,

334; *see also* American Revolution, Arms and ammunition, Regiments, Delaware
Continental Congress:
First (1774): delegates, 19;
Second (1775-1781): debates, 310; delegates, 208; independence, 3, 7, 16, 23, 158, 310; powers, 210
Conveyances, law of, 24
Cooke, Charles, 36
Coombe, Thomas, 152*n*
Cooper, Cornelius, 73*n*
Co-operative Societies; *see* Zoar, Ohio
Cope, Thomas D., 66, 67, 309, 379
Copley, John Singleton, 385
Corkran, Wilbur S., 54, 56-59
Corkran, Mrs. Wilbur, 56
Corn, 22, 26, 52, 70, 82, 327
Cornwallis, Charles (2nd earl, 1738-1805), 5, 27, 28, 29, 107, 114, 134, 349, 350, 352
Corny, Ethis de, 138
Coshocton, Ohio, 82, 94*n*, 95
Cottingham, Elisha, 9
Cotton Patch Hills, 57
Coulter (Colter), Thomas, 31
Coulter family, 34
Council of Safety: Pennsylvania, 16
Courthouse; *see* New Castle
Courts: colonial, 227-45, 272, 273, 277; Common Pleas, 321, 339, 340, 342-43; Del. justices, 211; equity, 242; federal, 225; Lewes, 228; New Castle, 227-45; Oyer and Terminer, 321*n*; Quarter Sessions, 320, 321, 352; records, 230, 243-44; relations with colonial governors, 243; *see also* Levy Court
Cousturier, Henry, 259, 298
Cox, Esau, 353
Cox, Richard, 118, 142
Coxe, Daniel, 24
Crabbe, Gertrudy De Haes, 258, 259
Crabbe, Jacob, 259, 270
Craghead, George, 352, 353
Craig, James Henry, 349, 350, 352
Craig, Thomas, 139
Craik, William, 364
Crain, Mr., 93
Crane Hook Church, 305
Crato, Jan, 289
Crato, Johan, 235
Crawford, Rebecca; *see* Rebecca Crawford Moore
Crawford, William, 73, 224
Crewcorne, N. Y., 227
Crime: banishment, 280, 290; branding, 238; debt, 222, 225, 231, 307; law, 229*n*, 234; peonage, 307; pillory, 3, 16; punishment, 3, 16, 229, 238, 280, 290, 307; theft, 80, 270, 273, 280; transportation to Barbadoes, 238; whippings, 229, 238; *see also* Commerce; Continental Army, deserters; Prisons
Crips, Matthew, 327
Cross, Robert, 153
Crouch, Catty, 90
Crow, Thomas, 379
Crowding, Peter, 205
Crowninshield, Louise duPont, 162
Cuffe, Paul, 386
Cuming, Fortescue, 81
Cumming, John Noble, 128, 141
Cummins, Dana, 98
Cummins, John, 98
Cummins family, 78
Cunz, Dieter, 66
Currency: in Delaware, 244; Dutch, 241, 267, 268
Customs, Collection of; *see* Commerce
Cutler, Manasseh, 360

Dabney, Charles, 121*n*
D'Aboville, Francois Maries, Comte de, 138
Dagsboro, Del., 9
Dagworthy, John, 8, 9, 50
Dale, John, 76*n*, 85
Dale, Margaret Ramsey Moore, 75, 76, 88
Dale, Richard C., 73*n*, 76, 85
Dallas, George Mifflin, 359
Danby, J. Kenneth, 63, 303, 306, 378
Dancing, 81, 97, 306
Danckaerts, Jasper, 227, 244
Dann, Rodney, 307
Darby, Henry, 160
Darlington, William, 310
David, Ebenezer, 65
Davies, Henry, 347
Davis, David, 160
Davis, E. E., 164
Davis, E. M., 39
Davis, Isaac, 90*n*, 98, 99*n*
Davis, Rebecca; *see* Rebecca Davis Cartwright

Dawes (Daws), Jonathan, 333
Dawson, James, 322, 324, 348-52
Dayton, Elias, 111, 112, 115, 117, 120, 127, 128, 131, 133, 143, 146
Deale County; *see* Sussex County
Deale Town; *see* Lewes
De Boer, Cornelis, 263
Debt: bankruptcy laws, 222; Dutch law, 273; imprisonment, 222, 225, 231, 307
Decatur, Stephen, 304, 371*n*
Declaration of Independence: congressional debate, 3, 7, 16, 23, 158, 310; Del. petitions, 16, 23; signers, 316
"Declaration on . . . Taking Up Arms," 164
"De Fenix" (Fr. ship, probably Phoenix), 270, 271
De Forest, Henry, 258
De Graeff, Cornelius, 285
"De Grote Christoffel" (Dutch ship), 272
De Haes, Annetje (Anna), 258-59
De Haes, Gabriel, 259
De Haes, Gertrudy Jacobs; *see* Gertrudy De Haes Crabbe
De Haes, Jan Roeloff, 258, 259
De Haes, Johannes, 258, 259
De Haes, Marrietje (Maria); *see* Marrietje De Haes Cantwell
De Haes, Mrs. Roeloff, 270
De Hart, William, 128, 136
De Hinse, Jacob, 270
Deists, 367
DeKalb; *see* Kalb, Johan de
De la Grange, Joost, 289
Delaware: boundaries, 379, 385; capitals, 231; Civil War troops, 161, 305; coastal shipping, 4, 51; colonial government, 237, 240*n*, 321, 339, 340, 341, 342; governors, 208, 308; names, 264; population, 70; portraits, 384-85; public records, 4, 19, 24, 26-27, 33, 165-66, 220, 318; relations with Md., 163, 307-8; separation from Pennsylvania, 230; slavery, 307; state administration, 164, 211, 214, 384; state police, 386; state seal, 170, 342, 343; transportation, 163; *see also* Agriculture, American Revolution, Architecture, Churches, Commerce, Courts, Medicine, names of towns and political subdivisions
Delaware, legislature of; *see* Council of State, House of Assembly, Provincial Assembly
Delaware Agricultural Society, 86
Delaware Archives: in Library of Congress, 304, 380; *see also* Delaware, public records; Delaware State Archives
Delaware Art Center, 379
Delaware Bay: light ship, 222; maps, 164
*Delaware Cavalcade*, 164
Delaware College; *see* University of Delaware
*Delaware Continentals*, by Christopher L. Ward, 107
Delaware Folklore Society, 159, 307, 386
*Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), 61, 70, 72, 75
Delaware Infantry, Fifth Regiment, 161
Delaware Militia; *see* Militia
Delaware Park, 164
Delaware River: defenses, 66, 298; Dutch rule, 251-302, 386; ferries, 382; forests, 252-53; pilots, 17, 23, 164; Revolutionary activity, 51, 66, 316, 351; Washington's crossing, 311
Delaware State Archives: collections, 33*n*, 228, 307, 318*n*, 319, 326; photographs, 159
*Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington), 85, 304, 383
Delaware State Library, opp. 207
Delaware State Museum, 303, 386
Delaware State Portrait Commission, opp. 207
Delaware Valley: architecture, 310
*Delaware Weekly Republican* (Wilmington), 61
Delmarva Peninsula: description, 311
Demerst, John, 73*n*
Democratic Party, 83
Denmark: colonists, 269
Denny, Richard, 327
Depressions: (1819), 70, 92*n*
Derickson, Ingeber, 352
Derickson, Jacob, 317, 319, 325, 352, 353
Derrickson (Derickson), Levin, 30, 31, 50-51
De Ryckeveyer, William, 292
*Design, Index of American*, by E. O. Christensen, 310
De Sille, Necasius, 274, 275
Deux-Ponts Regiment, 138
deValinger, Leon, Jr., 160, 218*n*, 303, 380
De Vos, Walraven Jansen, 386
DeVou, Mary R., 63

"De Waegh" (Balance, Dutch ship), 234, 265, 280, 283
De Witt, Willem, 270
Dexter, Samuel, 359
"De Zeeuw" (Dutch ship), 378
d'Hinojossa, Alexander, 234-36, 279, 288-300
"Diana" (Brit. ship), 317
Dickens, Charles W., 105-48, 159
Dickerson, C. W., 312
Dickerson, Mahlon, 223*n*
Dickinson, John, 358; biography, 65, 208, 216, 308; children, 377*n*; correspondence, 74*n*; political theories, 60, 157-58, 164
Dickinson, Maria, 377*n*
Dickinson College, 308
Dill, Robert, 107*n*
Dillon, Robert Guillaume, 119
"Dionysius"; *see* George Read
Diseases: ague, 300; Dutch colony, 282, 285, 287, 300; fevers, 282; flux, 326; rheumatism, 346; smallpox, 74; tuberculosis, 60; typhoid fever, 87; yellow fever, 65, 158
Dixon, Jeremiah, 66, 67, 309
Dodd, William A. B., 54, 58, 59
Dolan, Paul, 310, 384
Dominicus, Reynier, 259, 270
Dorman, Charles G., 383
Doughty, John, 140
Dover, Del., 163; description, 67; Hall of Records, 228; houses, 161; insurrection (1776), 23; jail, 44; lawyers, 374; militia, 2, 3, 7, 11-15; Presbyterian Church, 303, 386; slavery, 44; State Museum, 303, 386
Drake, Ann, 338
Drake, John, 319, 322, 324, 345-48
Drake, Mrs. John, 346
Drake, Thomas E., 386
Drawyers' Presbyterian Church, 74, 75*n*
Dress; *see* Clothing
Drovers: horse, 80, 83, 90*n*, 102-4
Druly, Capt., 53
Druly's tide (Baltimore Hundred), 53
Duck Creek, Del., 26, 323, 324
Duck Creek Hundred, Kent Co., Del., 90
Duels: abolition, 382; Barron-Decatur, 304, 371; Bayard-Champlin, 366; Campbell-Gardenier, 376
Duffy, Patrick, 115, 131
Duke of York; *see* James II, King of England
*Duke of York Laws*, 237
Dundas, Charles, 32
Dunlap, Arthur R., 159, 384
*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, 305
Dunn, Thomas, 327
duPont, Charles Irénée, 219
duPont, Dorcas Montgomery Van Dyke, 219
duPont, Eleuthera, 162
duPont, Éleuthère Irenée, 162
duPont de Nemours, Pierre Samuel, 219, 385
duPont, Pierre S., 162
duPont, Sophie Madeleine, 162
duPont, Victor, 219
duPont, Victorine; *see* Victorine Elizabeth duPont Bauduy
DuPont family, 67
DuPont de Nemours Co., 308, 309
Du Portail, Louis le Beque (Chevalier Derford), 112, 138
Durrell, Stephen, 74
Dutch, on Delaware River: architecture, 191-92, opp. 206, 271, 284, 285, 378; bibliography, 300-2; colonists, 269, 277, 278, 279, 386; courts, 229-45; language, 229, 238, 298; law, 236, 247-48; position of women, 257-58; records, 378; trade, 251; *see also* Fort Altena, Fort Casimir, Fort Christina, New Amstel
Dutch Tercentenary Commission, 60, 160
Dutch West India Company, 169
Dutton, William S., 67

Eastern Shore: Loyalists, 29
*Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, 163
Eavenson, Howard N., 65
Ebel, Pieter. 270
Ebeling, Daniel, 52
Ebenezer, N., 331
Eckhoft, Jan, 268, 269, 274
Eckman, Jeannette, 60-61, 64-65, 160, 162, 246-302, 378
Eddy, Henry Howard, 165
Edgemoor: Swedish settlers, 253
Edinburgh Emancipation Society, 37-39
Edmundson, Mary, 37, 42
Edson, George, 165
Education: for the ministry, 149-56; vocational, 164; *see also* Academies; Schools

Edwards, Evan, 142
Edwards, Morgan, 315
Elbert, Samuel, 121, 122
Elections: campaigns, 92; celebrations, 306; (1775), 15; (1796), 362; (1800), 363, 364, 365, 382; (1802), 362; (1808), 216, 217; (1815), 220; (1816), 221*n*; (1820), 354, 356; (1821), 223; (1822), 223; (1823), 224; (1824), 224; (1828), 83, 98*n*, 102, 104*n*; (1856), 40-41
Eleutherian Mills, 162
Eliason, James T., Jr., 60, 379
Elk River, 17, 19
Elkton, Md., 66, 89, 108
Emans, Jan, 273
Embargo: (1765), 315; (1808), 217
Emigration: West, 70, 71, 89*n*, 99-100
Emmens, Elias, 270
Emory, Frederic, 163
Empson, Mary, 332, 333
England: allegiance to, 298; colonists, 251, 259; U. S. ministers to, 367-69; U. S. treaties, 221; war with Holland, 296
Entail, law of, 25
Episcopal Church; *see* Protestant Episcopal Church
Ernest, Count of Nassau, 257
Errigo, Joseph A. L., 65, 311
Essington, Pa., 253
Evans, G. Taggart, 311
Evans, George, 352, 353
Evans, James M., 57
Evans, John, 152*n*, 153, 160
Evans, Oliver, 165
Evans, Robert, 306
Evans family, 66
Evertsen, Arent; *see* Arent Evertsen Pietersen
Evertsen, Jan; *see* Jan Evertsen Pietersen
Eves, John, 327
Ewing, John, 152*n*, 153, 156
Eynow, William, 160

Fahey, Aloysius, 164
Fairs: Kent-Sussex, 164
"Fairview" (Odessa, Del.), opp. 69, 72, 73*n*, 75, 85, 87
Fanning, Col., 349
*Far Side of Paradise*, by Arthur Mizener, 386
Farmers Bank: New Castle branch, 219
Fauna, 79, 89, 253
Fences: Dutch, 274; rails, 91; surveyors, 232
Fendall, Josias, 287
Fenix, Alexander (Sander), 270
Fenwick's Island, 57, 58
Ferguson, Patrick, 335, 337
Ferries: Christina, 276; fares, 241; Long Island, 256; New Castle, 214-15, 382
Ferris, Benjamin, 62, 158, 304
Ferris, Frances C., 62
Ferris, Matilda, 62
Ferris family, 62
Field, Mrs. Nehemiah, 26
Filmore, Millard, 40
Finch, Herbert H., 162
Finney, David, 317, 329, 334
Finn, Long; *see* Marcus Jacobson
*Finns in America*, by J. I. Kolehmainen, 66
Finns, in Delaware, 269, 274; courts, 240*n*; folksongs, 307; insurrection on Del. (1669), 238; scholars, 306, 310
Fire: insurance companies, 308
Fish: cod, 281; shad, 62; Sussex County, 18, 20
Fish, Nicholas, 117, 139, 144
Fisher, Joshua, 164, 165
Fisher, Joshua, & Sons (Philadelphia), 22, 24
Fisher, Samuel Rowland, 24
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 386
Flags: Betsy Ross, 316
Flamman, Jan, 268, 269
Flax, 79, 81, 82, 96
Fleming's tract, 30
Flint, James, 77*n*
Flint, Timothy, 81
Flora: insectivorous, 63
Flour, 26; *see also* Mills
Folklore, Delaware, 158-59, 163; *see* Delaware Folklore Society
*Folklore Bulletin, Delaware*, 386
Food: army rations, 112, 118, 119, 135, 140, 147; beans, 327; beef, 135, 146; bread, 77, 95, 115, 118, 280; butter, 344; chicken, 96; coffee, 96; corn, 22, 26, 52, 70, 82, 327; Dutch colonists, 261, 280, 295; eggs, 344; flour, 344, 351; ice cream, 310; meats, 26, 77, 89, 281, 344, 351; nuts, 77, 89; potatoes, 82, 114, 327; prices, 77, 90, 234, 327; pumpkins, 327; salt, 48-60, 146; sauerkraut, 77, 90;

strawberries, 77; sugar, 77, 82, 91, 92, 96; turkey, 77, 89; turnips, 114
Foot, William, 317
Fordham, Elias P., 79*n*
Foreman, Alexander, 319
Forest (meaning inland), 76*n*
Forests; *see* Timber
Forrest, Edwin, 226
Fort Altena: court, 240*n*; garrison, 267, 282; name, 266; settlers, 236, 269, 276, 289; *see also* Fort Christina
Fort Casimir, 160; barracks, 284; bathhouse, 267; construction, 256-57, 263, 381; courts, 231-32, 269, 272, 273; drawing, 285; Dutch flag, 247; Dutch rule, 264-300; as Fort Trinity, 262-65; founded 230, 258, 303; garrison, 284; guardhouse, 267; palisades, 232, 295; population, (1655-57), 268-71, 276; streets, 257, 258, 266, 279; Swedish capture, 261-64; *see also* New Amstel
Fort Christina, 253, 263, 264; settlers, 276; siege (1655), 265, 266
Fort Delaware, 164, 311
Fort Delaware Society, 159, 307, 309
Fort Nassau, 169, 251, 255, 257
Fort Trinity, 262-65, 285; *see also* Fort Casimir
Fortifications: Fort Casimir, 232, 295; Fort Delaware, 159; Yorktown, 116-17, 123-27, 129
Forts: Delaware, 159; Delaware River, 66; Mud Island, 66; Red Bank, 66; West India (Sussex County), 228
Fourth of July: celebrations, 99*n*
France: aid to America, 137; emigrants, 251, 269; U.S. ministers to, 364, 365
Frank, William P., 160, 164
Franklin, Benjamin, 385
Frederica, Del., 382
Fremont, John C., 40, 41-42
Friends; *see* Society of Friends
Frontier: in Ohio, 79, 81, 93, 95, 97
Fruits: peach, 69, 72*n*, 86, 328, 331; pear, 69; strawberries, 97
Fugitive Slave Law, 38
Fullerton, Richard, 110, 121, 140, 144
Fulton, Robert, 385
Furnishings: 18; beds, 22, 31, 34; books, 291; chairs, 31, 291, 347; china, 22, 378; clock, 31; desk, 31, 306, 347; Dutch, 236, 303, 378; English ware, 295; glass, 378; linens, 22; Loyalists' losses, 328, 331, 333, 337, 348, 351; miniature, 306; mirror, 290; paintings, 290, 291; Read house, 161; rugs, 22; Swedish colonists, 267-68; tables, 31, 310, 347; *see also* Pewter, Silver
Furs, 232, 322, 350

Galbreath, Robert, 320
Galloway, Joseph, 17, 22-23, 161-62, 342
Galvan, William, 121
Gardenier, Barent, 376
Garmin, Jonathan, 160
Garrett, Mrs. Alfred Cope, 37
Garrett, Anne, 158
Garrett, Rachel, 158
Garrett, Thomas, 386; correspondence, 37-47
Garrigen, James, 4
Garrison, William Lloyd, 43
Gaskins, Thomas, 110, 139
Gâtinais, Regiment of, 116, 138
Gause family, 97
Gemmell, Alfred, 160
General Assembly, Delaware; *see* House of Assembly; Legislative Council
*Geography*, by Timothy Flint, 81
Georgetown, Del., 165, 382
Georgia, 4
German: colonists, 66, 165
Gerritsen, Jan, 271
Gerster, Bernita S., 159
Ghent, Treaty of, 367-38
Gibbs, Caleb, 140
Giles, Caleb, 117
Gilles, ————, 271
Gilpin, Elizabeth, 305
Gilpin, Joshua, 53-54
Gilpin, Thomas, 60, 305
Gilpin family, 60, 163, 305
Gimat, Jean Joseph, 110, 120-21, 145
Gipson, Lawrence H., 157
Gist, Mordecai, 111, 115, 130, 132, 133, 135, 139, 141, 145, 146
Glasford, Hugh, 160
Glasgow, Del.: Aitkens' tavern, 334
Glebes, church, 20, 30, 260, 270
Glidd, Capt., 331
Gloucester, Va., 119, 140, 141, 142
Goepp, Mrs. Elizabeth Wenning, 385
Goforth, George, Jr., 14
Gold Rush (1849), 76*n*

Golden, William, 327
Gordon, Charles, 319, 320, 353
Gordon's (Gourden's) Pond, 58, 59
Gozlin, John, 8
Graham, John, 120
Grains; *see* Agriculture, Barley, Corn, Flax, Wheat
Grange, Delaware State, 308
Grant, Ulysses S., III, 307
Grasmeer, Wilhemus, 257
Grasse-Tilly, François Joseph Paul, Comte de, 108, 116
Graves, Richard, 374
Gray, Andrew, 224*n*
Great Britain: colonial policy, 157-58
Greene, Nathaniel, 105, 121, 146
Greenwood, John, 319
Gregg, Abram, 328
Gregg, Mrs. Harmon, 327
Gregory, John, 353
Gronenburg, Constantinus, 271
Grubb family, 381
Guest, John, 160
Gustaf Adolf, King of Sweden, 253
"Gyllene Haj" (Shark, Swe. ship), 264

Habeas Corpus: suspension, 366
Hackett, (Abraham?), 319
Hall, David (of Del.), 73, 74
Hall, Joseph, 31
Hall, Mrs. Walter, 381
Hall, Willard, 222, 224
Hall, William S., 55
Hamilton, Alexander, 110, 117
Hamilton, William, 327
Hamm, Charles, 99
Hamm, John, Sr., 71*n*
Hamm, John, Jr., 71, 78, 80, 98, 100, 101-3
Hamm, Lettitia Buckmister, 99*n*
Hammond, Andrew Snape, 3, 16, 17, 19, 322, 335, 341, 345, 347
Hammond, Nicholas, 373
Hancock, Harold, 1-36, 305, 315-53, 386
Hanouw, Jurriaen, 270
Hanson, Mary Robinson, 73*n*
Hanson, Philip, 73*n*
Hanson, William, 73*n*
Harcourt, John, 320
Hardy, Elias, 20, 30
Harmar, Josiah, 110, 120, 142
Harmensen, Peter, 259
Hartford Convention, 356
Harvard University: observatory, 64
Haslet, John, 12, 73
Haslet, Joseph, 216
Havre de Grace, Md., 89
*Hawks of Hawk Hollow, The*, by R. M. Bird, 226
Hayward, Elijah, 71*n*
Hazen, Moses, 110, 115, 117, 118, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 137, 141, 143, 144, 146
Hazlet, William, 317
Hazzard, John, 311
Healy, John, 73*n*
Heim, Raymond W., 164
Helme, Israel, 237, 240*n*
Heming, Isaac, 20
Henderson, Frisby, 381
Hendricksen, Jan; *see* Jan Hendricksen Van Struckhousen
Henlopen Acres, 58
Hepburn, H. F., 58
Heresy: charges during Revolution, 317
Herman (Hermann, Herrman), Augustine, 66, 67, 295
Herman, Ephraim, 244
Hermens, Pieter, 271
"Hermitage" (New Castle Co., Del.), 214
Heverin family, 165
Higgins, Anthony, 159
Higgins, Anthony M., 70*n*
High Sheriff; *see* Sheriff
Hill, Joshua, 6
Hilles, Mrs. Florence Bayard, 63, 224, 361*n*
Hindes, Ruthanna, 60, 306
Hinojossa, Alexander; *see* Alexander d'Hinojossa
Historians: William Plumer, 354-77
Historic New Castle, Inc., 60, 162
Historical Shrines and Buildings, National Council, 307
Historical Society of Delaware: annual meeting, 157-58, 378-79; library, 63, 379, 380, 382, 386; ms. collections, opp. 11, 16*n*, 29*n*, 61-63, 71*n*, 74*n*, 105-48, 157, 161, 218*n*, 223*n*, 224*n*, 225*n*, 304, 305, 318*n*, 380, 381, 383, 386; museum, 60, 61, 75*n*, 157-58, 306, 379; Old Town Hall, 60, 219*n*, 306, 380; photographs,

159, 306; publications, 1*n*, 63-64, 105*n*, 162, 315*n*, 368*n*, 373, 379, 383-84

Historical Society of Pennsylvania: library, 62; ms. collections, 165, 230

History, Local; *see* Institute of Delaware History and Culture

Hobby, John, 111, 112, 141, 145

Hockessin, 384

Hoff, Clayton, 311

Hogeboom, Cornelius, Sr., 299

Hogs, 22, 231-32

Holcomb, Thomas, II, 378

Holland, Thomas, 106

Holland; *see* Dutch, on Delaware; United Netherlands

Hollingshead, John, 128

Hollingsworth family, 66

Hollis, Mr., 44

Holmes, Daniel, 218*n*

Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, 183, 305

Hopman, Hans, 268, 270, 273

Horses: drovers, 80; races, 164; thefts, 80; values, 18, 22; *see also* Agriculture, livestock

Horsey, Outerbridge, 222, 223

Hospitals: New York City, 321, 336, 338, 346; Plymouth, Eng., 346; Saint Francis, 308

Hotels, Inns, and Taverns: Aitkens' tavern, 334; Blue Ball, 104; Buchan inn, 319; celebrations, 324; charges, 90, 92*n*; Drake tavern, 319, 322, 324, 345-48; Halfway Hotel, 99; Charles Hamm, 99; Indian Queen, 104*n*; Kenton Hotel, 99; on National Road, 90, 94, 95; New Amstel, 271; Newkirk's Hotel, 64; Notts Hotel, 89; in Ohio, 94, 95; Symonds Inn (London), 351, 352

House of Assembly, Del.: appropriations, 74; delegates, 1, 2; membership, 213, 214

Houses: Alricks, 305; "Anchorage," 312; "Bohemia," 312; Clark (Delaware City), 305; Dutch, 378; "Fairview," opp. 69, 72, 73*n*, 75, 85, 87; "Hermitage," 214; Jacquet, 305; "Kennersley," 312; "Kingston Upon Hull," 60; Long Hook, 276; "Myrtle Grove," 312; Stidham, 305; stone, 328, 331, 333; Swedish bathhouse, 267; Tile, 310; *see also* Architecture, Bricks, Furnishings, Log Houses

Howe, Baxter, 112

Howe, Henry, 94*n*

Howe, Richard (2nd earl, 1726-99), 4, 17, 23, 316, 322, 348

Howe, Sir William, 23, 322, 334, 335, 337, 338, 346, 348

Hudde, Andries, 231, 257, 258, 263, 266, 268, 269, 271, 272, 283, 284, 286, 300

Hudson, Fred, 54, 59

Hudson, Theodore, 56, 57, 59

Hugyen, Hendrick, 293

Hulings, Jonathan, 332, 333

Humphreys, James, 35

Huntington, Ebenezer, 115, 128

Huygen, Hendrick, 274

Huys, Jacob Jansen, 257, 260, 268, 269, 270, 283, 286

Hyatt, John, 106

Hyatt, Peter, 73, 147

Illustrations: Amstel house, insert, between 206-7; Articles of Concession of Robinson and Moore, opp. 10; James A. Bayard, opp. 355; Caleb Prew Bennett, opp. 105; Dutch house, insert, between 206-7; "Fairview," opp. 69; Kensey Johns house, insert, between 206-7; New Castle, opp. 169; New Castle Academy, insert, between 206-7; New Castle Court House, insert, between 206-7; New Castle during the Dutch Regime, opp. 167; New Castle, plan of, 1804-5, opp. 206; New Castle Town Hall, insert, between 206-7; George Read house, insert, between 206-7; Thomas Robinson, opp. 1; Caesar A. Rodney, opp. 355; Nicholas Van Dyke, opp. 207; Nicholas Van Dyke house, insert, between 206-7; Samuel White, opp. 355; Yorktown, map of siege, 116

Immanuel Church, New Castle, Del., opp. 169, 181, 186-88, opp. 206, 260, 270, 305

Impeachment, cases of: Chase, 371; John Pickering, 375

Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., 158

Indian Queen Hotel, 104*n*

Indian River, 26, 50-53, 58

Indian River Hundred, 1, 18; mills, 19, 20, 22

Indian River tract, 24, 30

Indians: Eastern Shore, 163; guns to, 295; lands, 255, 256; liquor sale, 269, 291, 292; Miamis, 65; place names, 384; relations with Dutch, 268; relations with English (1668), 237, 241; Sioux uprising (1862), 65; trade, 65, 256, 274

Indigo, 322, 350
Industries: brickyard, 77, 79, 93; glass, 92*n*; iron, 120, 310; logging, 77, 91, 191; nylon, 309; salt, 48-59; stone quarry, 92; sugar camp, 77; tanning, 91, 99*n*; *see also* Manufactures, Mills, Trades
Ingersoll, Jared, 362
Institute of Delaware History and Culture, 60, 158
Insurance Companies, fire, 308
Internal Improvements; *see* Canals, Roads
Irish, in Delaware, 350
Irish Tract, Sussex Co., 18, 21, 30
Iron industry: decorative work, 310; forges, 120
Irvine, Matthews, 129
Israel, Israel, 65

Jackson, Andrew, 71*n*, 83, 224
Jacobs, Ariaen, 271
Jacobs, Gertrudy; *see* Gertrudy De Haes Crabbe
Jacobson, Marcus, 238
Jacquet; *see also* Jaquett
Jacquet, Jean Paul: Dutch magistrate, 231, 234, 235*n*, 266, 267-76, 298, 299
Jagendorf, Moritz, 158, 163
Jamaica Island, 349, 350
James II, King of England: capture of New Netherlands, 296
James, Mrs. Florence McComb, 161
Jansen, Barent; *see* Barent Jansen van Swol
Jansen, Claes, 271
Jansen, Cornelius, 280
Jansen, Foppe; *see* Foppe Jansen Outhout
Jansen, Gerrit, 271
Jansen, Harman, 259, 268, 269, 274
Jansen, Hendrick, 298
Janvier, Thomas, 271
Janvier family, 65
Jaquett, Peter, 147
Jay Treaty, 221
Jefferson, Ephraim, 99
Jefferson, Thomas: politics, 355-57, 359, 363-65; writings, 164, 213
Jefferson Medical College, 87
Jenkinson, Mr., 342
Jewelry: diamonds, 350
Job, Andrew, 104*n*
Johns, Ann Van Dyke, 209, 219
Johns, Kensey: law, 210, 211; marriage, 209; politics, 212, 215*n*, 382
Johns, Kensey, Jr., 211, 212
Johns, Van Dyke, 212
Johnson, Helen S., 303
Johnson, Hetty, 90*n*
Johnson, James, 323
Johnson, Lewis, 73*n*
Johnston, Dan, 160
Johnston, Naphtali, 160
Johnston, Samuel, 160
Jones, Bill, 102
Jones, Frank Morton, 63, 310
Jones, Jacob, 66, 220, 309
Jones, John, 9, 31, 50-52
Jones, Louis C., 158
Jones, Rachel, 160
Jones, Thomas, 111
Jordan, James, 14
*Journals and Journeymen*, by C. S. Brigham, 311
Judson, Joseph, 317, 319

Kalb, Johann (baron) de, 105, 106, 107
Kalm, Peter, 306, 308
Kane, John K., 311
Kane, John Kintzing, 311
Kansas: war (1855), 39, 41, 42
Kelly, George F., opp. 69
Kelly, Paul W., 386
Kelly, Maj. T., 349
"Kennersley" (house), 312
"Kent" (steamer), 85
Kent County: agriculture, 60; Committee of Correspondence, 315; Committee of Inspection, 161; courts, 227; emigration, 71; fairs, 164; houses, 60; "Kingston Upon Hull," 60; militia, 2-3, 99*n*; politics, 213; representatives, 12
Kenton Hotel, 99*n*
Kenton Hundred, Kent Co., Del., 99*n*
Kentucky Resolutions, 213-14
Kiamensi, 384
Killen, William, 12
"Kingston Upon Hull," 60
Kinkead, Clara Janvier, 65
Kinkead family, 64-65
Kip, Hendrick, 290, 291
Kip, Hendrick, Jr., 292
Kirkpatrick, David, 134

Kirkwood, Robert, 73, 105, 106, 147, 327
Kitchen, Priscilla, 386
Knight, Capt., 348
"Knotless" (Brit. ship), 351
Know Nothing Party, 83, 84
Knox, Henry, 121, 138
Kolehmainen, John I., 66
Kollock, Simon, 8, 9, 10, 30, 98*n*
Krieger, François, 292
Krieger, Marten, 257, 279, 287, 288
Kruse, Albert, 60, opp. 169, 171-206, 303
Kyte, George W., 386

Labor: advertisements, 214*n*; apprentices, 307; Dutch colony, 250, 294, 297, 300; free, 285; on frontier, 77; maltreatment, 231; Pencader Mechanics' Association, 220; peonage, 307; wages, 80, 92, 100, 101, 102, 104, 114, 270, 275, 282, 283; *see also* Slavery, Workingmen's Associations
Lack, Norman M., 160
Lafayette, Marie-Paul, Marquis de, 61, 111, 113, 120, 127, 128, 132, 134, 137, 138, 140, 144, 219, 339, 385
Laird, Mr., 335
Laird, James, 163
Lambs, John, 129
Lancaster, Pa., 103
Land: Dutch colony, 270, 272, 277; fencing, 232, 274, 285; grants, 243, 255, 256; law, 24-25; public, 221, 225; records, 224*n*, 270, 272; rentals, 73*n*; Sussex County tracts, 30
Lane, Simon, 259, 263, 264, 271
Language: dialect, 39, 76*n*, 382, 383; Dutch on Delaware, 298
Laragan, Barnaby, 317
La Rochelle, Fr., 65
Larsen, Esther Louise, 308
Latimer, Henry, 374
Latrobe, Benjamin F., 173-79, 195, 202, opp. 206, 213
Laurel, Del.: churches, 312
Laurens, John, 128
Laurensen, Pieter, 259, 271
Lauzun, Armand-Louis de Gontaut Biron, Duc de, 119
Laws: Duke of York, 237, 242; English in Del. (1672), 239, 241; inheritance, 61, 236*n*
Laws, Alexander, 11
Laws, John, 11
Lawson, Robert, 113
Lawyers: training, 60, 354-55, 362, 369-70, 373
Layton, Mrs. Caleb S., 63, 381
Lea, Adelaide Moore, 87
Lea, John, 352, 353
Lea, Preston, 87
Lea, Thomas, 304
Lee, Henry, 105
Lee, Robert E., 307
Leese, Mr., 82, 91
Leese, Mrs., 92
Leipsic, Del., 87
Lennon, Dr., 326
Lenvington, Zachariah V., 49
Leonard, William, 35
"Leopard" (ship), 371*n*
Leslie, Dr., 338
Leslie, Alexander, 349
Levy Court, New Castle County, 84
Lewden, John, 327
Lewden family, 218*n*
Lewes, Del.: blockade (1776), 3; courts, 228; Dutch settlement, 169, 251; elections, 15; history, 381; insurrection (1776), 3; Loyalists, 4, 26; massacres, 251, 308; salt industry, 52, 53, 59; trade, 26, 164
Lewes and Rehoboth Canal, 58
Lewis, Enoch, 386
Lewis, Evan, 386
Lewis, William D., 67
Leyburn, Alexander, 349
Leyburn, Peter, 349, 351
Liberty League, American, 309
Libraries: Dutch colonial, 236
Library of Congress: Delaware exhibit, 304, 380
"Life Among the Early Dutch at New Castle," by Jeannette Eckman, 246-302
Lincoln, Benjamin, 111*n*, 118, 120, 122, 128, 131, 133, 136, 138, 143
Lindesay (Leendertsen), Alexander (Sander), 269
Lindeström, Peter, 263, 285
Liquor: celebrations, 324; Dutch colony, 273, 274, 292; export, 344; hogsheads, 351; Indians, 232, 291, 292; prices, 234, 327; rum, 115; for troops, 115, 117, 122, 146, 232; *see also* Temperance

Literature: Dutch poet, 278
Little, Richard, 31
Little Creek, 26
Little Duck Creek, 98*n*
Local History; *see* American Association for State and Local History
Log Houses, 94, 95, 96, 97; bathhouse, 267; New Amstel, 284
Logan, George, 359
Logging; *see* Timber
Lomax, Alan, 158-59
Long Finn; *see* Marcus Jacobson
Long Hook, 276, 305
Loockerman (Lockerman), Vincent, 12
Louisiana Purchase, 355
Lovelace, Francis: on Delaware, 72, 229, 238, 239, 256, 379
Lowman, Samuel, 160
Loyalists: bibliography, 386; to England, 331, 332, 348, 349, 350; Lewes, Del., 4, 26; manuscripts, 305; Middle Colonies, 161-62; mob violence, 334; New Castle County, 315-53; pardon, 318-19, 324, 325, 352; petitions, 3, 16-33; refugees, 33, 323, 325, 331, 332, 336, 348, 349, 350; slaves, 1, 6, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 34, 320, 331, 353; Sussex County, 1-36; *see also* American Revolution
Ludowick, Christopher, 115
Lumbering: *see* Timber, Trees
Lyons, William, 328

MacBride, Van Dyk, 311
Macdonough, Thomas, Sr., 324*n*
Macdonough, Thomas, 220, 309; portraits, 385
McAnear, Beverly, 149-56, 160
McCallmont, James, 215*n*
McClay, William, 325, 353
McComb, Eleazer, 163
McCormick, Richard, 380
McCrea, William, 160
McDonald, Col., 327, 328
McDongald, Daniel, 322
McDongald, Donald, 351
McDonnel, Col., 327
McDowell, Alexander, 149, 153
McHenry, James, 360
McIlvane, Andrew, 31
McKean, Joseph, 370*n*
McKean, Thomas: biography, 51, 153, 318, 370*n*; correspondence, 5, 28, 318*n*
McKeever, James, 324
McKennan, William, 106, 113*n*, 139, 147, 153
McKennon, Mr., 349
McKim, J. M., 39
McKinly, John, 4, 318, 320, 343
McKnatt, Jonathan, 14
McLane, Louis: in politics, 53-54, 61, 220, 222, 223, 224*n*
McMurphy, Rachel; *see* Rachel McMurphy Moore
McNeile, Col., 349
Maeslander, William, 276
Maine: statehood, 222
Mansfield, Piner, 99, 382
Mansfield family, 78
Manson, Daniel, 349
Manufactures: silk, 48; woolen, 351; *see also* Industries; Mills; Trades
Manuscripts; *see* Commerce; Delaware, public records; Historical Society of Delaware; Pennsylvania, public records; Public Archives Commission; Trades, records
Maple sugar, 77, 82, 91, 92, 96
Maps: Brandywine River, 304; Delaware (1654), 263; Delaware River (1777), 66; Dutch (c1670), 378; Fisher (1756), 164; Latrobe (1804), 178-80, 184, 185, 190, 195, 202, opp. 206, 213; Trader's, 65; Ward collection, 67; Wilmington and environs (1777), 161-62; world (1787), 347; Yorktown, 116
Marcus Hook, Pa., 253
Markel, Adolf, 306
Market: houses, 180, 182
"Marquis Lafayette" (ship), 108
Marriott family, 62
Marshall, John, 259
Marshall, Joseph, 329
Martensen, Cornelis, 292
Martin, Harold H., 67
Martin, Luther, 359
Marye, William B., 382, 383
Maryland: boundaries, 66-67, 379, 385; churches, 163; colleges, 373; German settlers, 66; Loyalists, 2; mills, 294; relations with Del., 307-8; Revolutionary troops, 117, 143, 144, 147; Separatist Movement, 163; slaves, 43; *see also* Eastern Shore
*Maryland Germans*, by Dieter Cunz, 66
Maryland Historical Society, 163

Mason, Mr., 347
Mason, Charles, 66, 67, 309
Mason and Dixon Line, 309, 379, 385
Massey, George R., 218*n*, 220
Massey, George V., II, opp. 1, 7*n*, 165, 312, 386
Massey family, 165
Maull, Arnsy, 164
Maurice, Theodore: colonial official, 318, 321, 322, 324, 328, 339-45, 348
Maurits, Cornelis; *see* Cornelius Morris
Maurits, Willem; *see* William Morris
Mayo, Lida, 164
Mease, James, 153
Mechanics; *see* Labor
Mechanics' Academy (Smyrna), 99*n*
Medical Association of Delaware, 161
Medical Society of Delaware, 99*n*
Medicine: Delaware, 164; drugs, 337; *see also* Physicians
Meg, Elizabeth; *see* Mrs. Elizabeth Wenning Goepp and Mrs. Margaret Webb Sanders
Megapolensis, Johannes, 265, 297
Mendenhall family, 107
Mercer, John Francis, 119
"Mercurius" (Swe. ship), 274
"Mesieria" (Brit. ship), 331
Methodist Church: circuit riders, 81, 93*n*; Delaware, 80, 87, 89, 373*n*; Mt. Pleasant, 312; Ohio, 93; prayer meetings, 80, 89; St. Paul's (Odessa), 87; *see also* Levi Scott
Middle Temple, London, Eng., 60
Mifflin, Warner, 386
Miles, Edward, 160
Miles, John, 112
Miles, Samuel, 3, 16, 23
Milford, Del., 43, 84
Militia, Delaware: (1808), 382; civilian arrests, 11-15; Fifth Regiment, 325; Kent County, 2-3; Loyalists, 319; officers, 374; War of 1812, 88*n*, 99*n*, 107, 219
Miller, Alice E., 66
Miller, Joseph, 62
Miller, Samuel, 311
Milligan, John J., 304
Mills: Brandywine, 305; cotton, 351; Dutch, 294, 299; Eleutherian, 162; flour, 77, 100; grist, 22, 299, 329; Indian River Hundred, 19, 20, 22; Little Duck Creek, 98*n*; looms, 322, 351; paper, 305; Patterson, 317; saw, 101; Wilmington, 304; woolen, 351
Minnesota: Delawareans in, 65
Minquas Kill; *see* Christina River
Minshall, Isaac, 11
Minuit (Minnewit), Peter, 253, 293
*Mirror of the Times and General Advertiser* (Wilmington), 61-62
Mispillion Creek, 26, 230, 384
Missouri, 39; Compromise, 222, 223
Mitchell, George, 31
Mitchell, Nathaniel, 8, 382
Mizener, Arthur, 386
Mohican (White Woman's or Walhonding) River, 94
Moll, John B., Jr., 383
Moll, Rynier Lammertsen, 271
Mollison (Morrison), Maj., 328
Monro, Charles, 35
Monro, George, 215*n*
Monro, James, 215*n*
Monroe, James, 354
Montgomery, Mr., 327, 350
Moore, Maj., 330, 331
Moore, Adelaide; *see* Adelaide Moore Lea
Moore, Alfred McComb, 87
Moore, Constance, 378
Moore, Elias Naudain, 87
Moore, Eliza, 75
Moore, Francis, 73
Moore, Harvey C., 386
Moore, Herbert G., 67
Moore, Jacob, 2-3, 11-15, 26
Moore, James (d. 1802), opp. 69, 72-75
Moore, James, Jr., 75, 88
Moore, James Andrew, 87
Moore, James Van Dyke: biography, 72, 76-79; trip to the West, 69-104, 382
Moore, John Bassett, 67
Moore, Margaret; *see* Margaret Ramsey Moore Dale
Moore, Maria, 75
Moore, Mary Elizabeth; *see* Mary Elizabeth Moore Sparks
Moore, Milcah Ann Van Dyke, 75, 88
Moore, Rachel McMurphy, 76, 87
Moore, Rebecca, 75
Moore, Rebecca Crawford, 73
Moore, Samuel, 33
Moore, Thomas Martin, 87

Moore, William, 73, 75*n*
Moore family, 69-104
Moran, Robert, 379
Morgantown, W. Va., 92
Morris, Catherine Brown, 259
Morris (Maurits), Cornelius, 268, 269
Morris, Gouverneur, 355
Morris, Lewis R., 364
Morris, Richard B., 307
Morris, Robert, 52
Morris, William, 259, 264, 268, 269, 273
Morrison, John, 332
Mort, Peter, 263
Mott, James, 43
Mott, Lucretia, 43
Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church, 312
Moylan, Stephen, 112
Moyne, Ernest J., 306
Mud Island, 66
Muhlenberg, Peter, 110, 115, 117, 127, 128, 132, 134, 137, 141, 143, 146
Mullikin, James C., 163
Munday, William, 132
Munro, James, 349
Munroe, John A., 60, 159, 207-26, 354-77, 380
Murderkill Creek, 26, 228*n*
Murphy, Daniel, 327
Murray, William, 52
Murray, William Vans, 360
*Museum of Delaware* (Wilmington), 216*n*
Museums: Delaware State, 303, 386; Historical Society of Delaware, 60, 61, 75*n*, 157-58, 306, 379
Muskingum River: bridges, 77, 98, 100, 101, 103; floods, 78, 101-2
Music: books, 91-92; Dutch, 247
Mustard, David L., 63
"Myrtle Grove" (house), 312

Naamans Creek, 253, 384
Nagel, Jan, 260
Nanticoke River, 384
Nash, Chauncey C., 304
National Road, 222
Natural History, Society of; *see* Society of Natural History of Delaware
Natural Science, Academy of; *see* Academy of Natural Science
Naturalists: William M. Canby, 310; William Darlington, 310; Delaware, 63; Frank Morton Jones, 63, 310
Nebraska, 42
Negroes: debts, 307; Dutch colony, 269; trades, 34; *see also* Slavery
Neill, Henry, 30, 31
Nelson, Thomas, 113, 138
"Neptune" (ship), 369
Neugas, Max, 159
New Amstel: bakehouse, 284, 286; brewery, 295; Brit. capture, 297; burgomasters, 277; churches, 254, 284, 285, 286, 297; colonists, 251, 279, 385; common council, 233, 277; courts, 240, 291; discontent, 281, 286; diseases, 285, 287; Dutch surrender, 236; emigration, 264, 275, 282; government, 228-29, 233-37; history, 379; houses, 283, 284, 285, 310; immigration, 283, 295; laws, 236; liquor, 292; mills, 294, 299; officers, 289; population (1653), 260; (1657), 276; (1658), 234-35, 283; public buildings, 284; public records, 291, 378; schools, 280, 281; schouts, 277; streets, 257, 258, 298-99; supplies, 280, 281, 286, 292; Swedish capture (1654), 261-64; tavern, 271, 291, 292; trades, 279, 299; wharves, 279; *see also* Fort Casimir, New Castle
"New Amstel" (Dutch galiot), 283
New Amsterdam: bricks, 299; English capture, 296; *see also* New York
New Castle, Del.: Academy, 161, opp. 169, 181, 188-91, 204, 205, opp. 206, 214, 303, 378; Alexander house, 192-93; Amstel house, opp. 169, 197-200, opp. 206, 212, 310; architecture, opp. 169, 171-206, 312; Arsenal, 181, 185-86; Gunning Bedford house, 203; bibliography, 386; Booth house, 201, 218; celebrations, 60, 303, 324, 378, 379, 380; Century Club, 181; Church Alley, 185; churches, 316; Cloud's Row, 201-2; Colby house, 202; Courthouse, opp. 169, 172-79, 181, 189, 191, 194, opp. 206, 229; courts, 227-45; Delaware Street, 190, 195, 196, 197, 200, 201-2, 212; Drake tavern, 319, 322, 324, 345-48; drawings, opp. 169, 379, 383; Dutch conquest (1673), 240; Dutch house, 191-92, opp. 206, 271, 378; fences, 213; ferries, 214-15, 382; fire (1824), 203-4, 219; fire companies, 214; Fourth Street, 194, 197, 198, 200; Gemmill house, 193-95, 205; Green, 181, 190; Harmony Street, 195; history, 164, 386; Hotel Louise, 173; houses, 161, 259, 312; illustrations, opp. 169, opp. 206; Immanuel Church, opp. 169, 186-88, opp. 206, 260, 270, 305; incorporated

(1672), 239; jail, 173, 320, 329, 330, 333; Kensey Johns house, 196-97, 199, opp. 206, 212; Kensey Johns, Jr., house, opp. 169, 197, 201, 212; library, 191; Loyalists, 317, 321, 338; maps, 178-80, 184, 185, 190, 195, 202, opp. 206, 212, 213; Market House, 182; militia, 107, 219; names, 253, 262; Packet Alley, 379; Penn house, 201; pharmacy, 337; Presbyterian Church, 160, opp. 169, 182-86, 198, 219, 378; public records, 379; Read house, 161, opp. 169, 203-5, opp. 206, 271; Read's Alley, 203; Rodney house, 195; Second Street, 181, 185, 204; sheriff's house, 185; Silsbee's Alley, 194; slaves, 212; Strand, 202-3, 206, 257, 258; Tamaconck, 253, 257; taverns, 271, 346, 347, 348; Third Street, 185, 195, 196; Thomas house, 204, 205; Tile house, 259, 310; Town Hall, opp. 169, 177, 179-82, opp. 206; Johns Van Dyke house, 201, 212, 220*n*; Nicholas Van Dyke house, opp. 169, 197, 200, 205, opp. 206, 207, 209, 212; Van Leuvenigh house, 202-3; George Washington's visit, 209; *see also* Fort Casimir

New Castle County: agricultural societies, 70; churches, 65; county seats, 231; courts, 218*n*, 244*n*, 352; farmhouses, 328; grand jury (1809), 218; Levy Court, 84; militia, 88*n*; officers, 107; politics, 213; public records, 33, 244*n*, 340; Revolutionary War damages, 73

New Castle Hundred, N. C. Co., Del.: Loyalists, 319

*New Castle on the Delaware*, 61, 160, 162, 207

New Deale County; *see* Sussex County

New Hampshire Historical Society, 360-61

New Jersey: silversmiths, 311; West Jersey, 385

New Netherlands: Dutch recapture (1673), 240; English conquest, 236; *see also* Dutch, on Delaware

New Philadelphia, Ohio, 81, 94

New Sweden: Dutch conquest, 230; Indian trade, 255; relations with Sweden, 308; salt industry, 48-49; settlements, 253

New York: colonial council, 231; courts, 227, 242; English capture, 228-29; Federalists, 221*n*; hospitals, 321, 336, 338, 346; in Revolution, 144, 145, 321, 336, 338, 346, 348

New-York Historical Society, 381

Newark, Del.: schools, 149-56; in Revolution, 315

Newark Academy: charter, 149-56; building, 160

Newbold, William, 9

Newkirk, Matthew, 64

Newport, Del.: bridge, 218*n*, 220; Loyalists, 335; trade, 216

Newspapers: *American Watchman* (Wilmington), 61; *Baltimore Evening Post*, 305; *Blue Hen's Chicken* (Wilmington), 306; Centerville, Md., 163; *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), 61, 70, 72, 75; *Delaware State Journal* (Wilmington), 85, 304, 383; *Delaware Weekly Republican* (Wilmington), 61; *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), 305; Dutch (1657), 281; editors, 62; journeyman, 311; *Mirror of the Times and General Advertiser* (Wilmington), 61-62; *Museum of Delaware* (Wilmington), 216*n*; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 380; *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), 2, 10; printers, 61, 66; *Wilmingtonian and Daily Advertiser*, 61; *Wilmingtonian and Daily Register*, 61

Nicholas, John, 364

Nicholas, Wilson Carey, 375, 376

Nicholites, 163

Nichols, Joseph, 163

Nicholson, Joseph, 359

*Nick of the Woods*, by R. M. Bird, 226

Nicolls, Matthias, 238

Nicolls, Richard, 296, 297, 298

Niles, Hezekiah, 60, 311

Nixon, Elizabeth, 207

Nodes, Thomas, 319

Nonimportation agreements, 315

Norman, John, 338

Norman, Thomas, 53

Norman's flood (in Lewes, Del.), 53

North, Joshua: to England, 324; exemption from Del. pardon, 319, 320-21; memorial, 328-34; property loss, 6, 325, 353

North, Mrs. Margaret, 353

North Carolina: Loyalists, 351

Norway: colonists, 269

Nova Scotia, Can.: Loyalists, 5, 6, 36

Nylon: manufacture, 309

Oats, 26

Ocean View, Del., 55

Odessa (Cantwell's Bridge), Del., opp. 69,

72, 85-87; houses, 161, 311; Revolutionary activity, 316
Ogden, Mathias, 111*n*, 128, 143*n*, 144, 373
Ohio, 80; abolitionists, 39; coal, 65; lands, 69; Zoar community, 80, 94
Ohio and Erie Canal, 80*n*, 92*n*
Ohio River: steamboats, 79, 93
Old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church, Wilmington, Del., 183, 305
Olney (Elney), Jeremiah, 111*n*, 120, 121
Onkelbach, Adam, 273
Opkdyck, Gysbert, 256
Orchards: fruit, 328, 331, 333
Oregon occupation, 71*n*
Osborn, Capt., 347
Osborn, Selleck, 311
Osborne, Bezaliel, 73*n*
Outhout, Foppe Jansen, 271, 291, 292, 298
Owens, Miss, 79, 97
Owens, Mr., 85, 96
Oxen: in transport, 22, 53

Pack, Mr., 309
*Packet Alley*, by Elizabeth Meg, 385
Paintings; *see* Art
Palmer, Catharine Bell, 311
Pan-American Congress (1826), 225
Papegoja, Johan, 263, 274
Paper: making in Del., 60
Parliament, British: memorials to, 16-25, 29-31, 35-36
Parrish, Anne; *see* Anne Parrish Titzell
Parsons, Theophilus, 359
Partridge, Alden, 64
Patten, Mr., 383
Patten, John, 65
Patterson, John, 23
Patterson, Moles, 334
Patterson, Samuel, 317, 318*n*, 324*n*, 344
Pea Patch Island, 159, 309; *see also* Fort Delaware Society
Peach, Elizabeth, 61
Peaches, 69, 72*n*, 86, 328, 331
Pencader Hundred, New Castle Co., Del., 73; labor, 220; Loyalists, 319
Penn, John, 151, 152, 155, 341
Penn, Richard, 153, 160, 322, 341, 345
Penn, Thomas, 151, 152, 153, 155, 160
Penn, William: arrival, 227; Del. acquired, 245; land grants, 73, 381; in New Castle, 176; relations with Baltimore, 307-8
*Penn* vs. *Lord Baltimore*, 25
Pennock, William, 114
Pennock family, 381
Pennsylvania: boundaries, 66-67, 385; coal, 65; Council of Safety, 16; militia, 16; public records, 165-66; relations with Del., 3, 230; Revolutionary troops, 143, 147; roads, 65; Supreme Executive Council, 208
*Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 380
*Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), 2
Peoples Railway, 64
Periodicals: *American Genealogist*, 63; *Congressional Digest*, 63; *Equal Rights*, 63; *Suffragist*, 63
Perkins, J. D., 99
Perry, William, 30, 36, 62
Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, 380
Peters, Richard, 155*n*
Petersen, Lucas, 298
Peterson; *see also* Pietersen
Peterson, Alexander, 99
Petion, Mr., 367
Petitions: Loyalist, 32-33
Pewter, 31
Philadelphia, Pa.: abolitionists, 39, 43; Academy, 149-50, 152, 156; Antislavery Fair, 43; book trade, 165; Brit. occupation, 332, 335, 348, 350; Council of Safety, 16; duels, 366; horse market, 80; Jefferson Medical College, 87; merchants, 22, 24; newspapers, 2, 10, 305, 380; printers, 66; prison, 348; yellow fever epidemic (1793), 65; *see also* Delaware River, Independence Hall, University of Pa.
Phillips, J. O., 1*n*
"Phoenix" (Fr. ship), 270, 271
Physicians: Dr. Archibald Alexander, 339; Dr. Isaac Atwood, 319, 320; Dr. James A. Bayard, 361; Dr. John J. Black, 86; Dr. E. M. Cloak, 98*n*; Dr. Richard C. Dale, 73*n*, 76, 85; Dr. John Hamm, 71, 78, 80, 98, 99, 100, 101-3; Dr. John Kintzing Kane, 311; Dr. Lennon, 326; Dr. Leslie, 338; Dr. James Moore, 87; Dr. J. D. Perkins, 99; Dr. John Rhoades, 229; Dr. Nicholas Ridgely, 62; Dr. Benjamin Rush, 71*n*; Dr. Samuel Seabury, 36; Dr. Ebenezer Smith, 361*n*; Dr. Abraham Staats, 256; Dr. Tymen Stidham, 269; Dr. James Tilton, 3, 62, 209; Dr. John Watson, 319, 321, 334-39, 346; Dr. Nicholas Way, 62; *see also* Medicine

Pickering, John, 375
Pickering, Timothy, 112*n*, 115, 140
Picolet, Jan, 271
Pierce, Franklin, 38, 40, 42
Pietersen, Arent Evertsen, 280, 281, 295
Pietersen, Claes, 259, 271
Pietersen, Evert, 276, 279, 280-81, 284, 289, 290, 291
Pietersen, Harman, 271
Pietersen, Jan Evertsen, 280
Pillory, 3, 16
Pilots: Delaware River, 23, 26, 164
Pinckney; *see* Pinkney
Piney Island, Sussex Co., 18, 21, 31
Pinkney, William, 223*n*
Pittsburgh, Pa., 92-93
Place names: Indian, 384
Platt, Samuel, 160
Pleasanton, Stephen, 224*n*
Plows: cast iron, 83; Dutch, 296; manufacture, 83; moldboard, 92; shovel, 82-83
Plumer, William, 354-77
Pocomoke River, 384
Poland: colonists, 269, 270
Politics: churches, 213; Delaware, 71*n*, 209; Democratic-Republicans, 213, 216, 217, 218, 221, 223, 224, 225; Federalists, 61, 212, 213, 214, 216, 220, 221, 224, 225, 355, 356, 360, 363, 374; Jacksonian Democrats, 71*n*, 78, 83; Know Nothing Party, 83, 84; national (1856), 40; Ohio, 71*n*, 78; Read faction, 209; Republican Party, 83; spoils system, 364; *see also* Elections
Poor: colonial law, 241
Pope, Charles, 31
Pope and Kruse, 380
Popham, A., 352
Population, Delaware: colonial, 260, 276, 234-35, 283
Port Penn, Del., 323, 386
Porter, Alexander, 104*n*
Portraits, Delaware, 63
Postal history, 311
Potatoes, 82, 114, 327
Potter, Cornelis de, 256
Powell, John H., 158
Pratt, Fletcher, 309
Pratt, Richard, 312
Preble, Edward, 309
Presbyterian Church: Dover, 303; Drawyers', 74, 75*n*; New Castle, 160, opp. 169, 182-86, 198, 219, 378; schools, 149-56, 361*n*; Seventh Day, 74
Press, Freedom of, 42
"Preston" (Brit. man-of-war), 4, 17
Prevost, Augustine, 330, 332, 348
Prew, Elizabeth; *see* Elizabeth Prew Wiley Bennett
Prices: (1657), 234, 277; (1777), 327; (1789), 114; *see also* Labor, wages
"Prince Maurice" (Dutch ship), 278
Princeton University, 150, 151; Delawareans, 210-11, 362
"Prins Willem" (yacht), 256
Printers: James Adams, 165; William Black, 382; Bonsal and Niles, 60; Andrew Bradford, 66; Thomas Bradford, 10; William Bradford, 10; Hambleton Company, 65; J. Wilkie, 161; Wilmington, 65
Printz, Johan, 48-49, 260
Protestant Episcopal Church: archives, 150*n*; Immanuel, opp. 169, 181, 186-88, opp. 206, 270, 305; Presbyterian rivalry, 150; Old Swedes, 183, 305
Public Archives Commission, Del.: ms. collections, 33*n*, 228, 307, 318*n*, 319, 326; *see also* Delaware State Archives
Purnell, Harold W. T., 159
Pyle, John, 321*n*

Quakers; *see* Society of Friends
Quarries, 92
Quasi-war with France, 213
*Queen Anne's County, Md.*, 163
Quenouault, Paul, 106
Quenouault, Peter, 147
Quitrents, 25

"Rachel" (sloop), 351
Radoff, Morris L., 380
Raedt: *see* Delaware, colonial council (1668)
Railroads: Peoples, 64
Rambo, Peter, 237, 240*n*, 241
Ramsey, Margaret; *see* Margaret Ramsey Moore Dale
Randolph, John, 60, 359
Rawle, William, 359
Rawlings, Thomas, 325
Read, Mrs., 383

Read, George, Sr. (the Signer): biography, 3, 211, 219, 220, 343, 358, 370; law students, 210, 211; in politics, 3, 14-15, 209, 212

Read, Mrs. George, Sr., 339

Read, George, Jr., 223

Read, William Thompson, 226, 338-39

Read family, 212

Reading, Philip, 316

Rebellions: insurrection on Del. (1669), 238; *see also* American Revolution

Records: business manuscript books, 318; *see also* Delaware, public records; Historical Society of Delaware

Recreation: on frontier, 79, 81, 96-97

Red Bank, N. J., 66

Reed, H. Clay, 66-67, 160, 227-45, 379

Reed, Joseph, 362

Reeves, Stephen, 157

Reforms; *see* Temperance

Regiments, Delaware: Civil War, 161; recruiting, 108; Revolutionary engagements, 105-6, 108-9, 121, 134, 136, 137, 138*n*, 139, 141, 143-45, 147-48; at Yorktown, 105-48; *see also* Arms and Ammunition, Continental Army

Rehoboth: banks, 54; salt industry, 58

Rehoboth Bay, Del., 18, 20

Rehoboth Hundred (Sussex Co., Del.), 1, 18, 25, 53

Relf, Samuel, 165

Reliance Fire Company, Wilmington, 161

Religion: Deists, 367; Dutch freedom, 249; prayer meetings, 80; *see also* Churches by name of sect; Heresy

Republican Party, 83

Revel, Rendel, 291

Reybold, Mr., 306

Rhoades, John, 229

Rhoads, Samuel, 46

*Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution, A*, by J. D. Black and W. G. Roelker, 65

Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 65

Rice, Nathan, 128, 134, 145

Rice, S. T., 380

Richards, Robert H., 380

Ridgely, Ann, 374*n*, 377*n*

Ridgely, Charles, 358

Ridgely, Henry M., 218, 224*n*

Ridgely, Mrs. Henry, 159

Ridgely, Nicholas, 62

Ridgely, Williamina, 377*n*

Ridgely family, 71*n*, 377*n*

Riegel, Richard E., 109

Rightmyer, Nelson Waite, 163

Ringo (Reingold?), Philip Jansen, 271

Rising, Johan, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 282

Ritchie, Mrs. H., 339

Roads: construction, 306; drovers, 80, 83, 90, 102-4; federal, 100*n*, 221, 222, 225; peninsular, 66, 72, 294; in Pa., 65; turnpikes, 89, 220; in Virginia, 116

Robinson, Arcada; *see* Arcada Robinson Cannon

Robinson, Beverly, 5, 27, 28, 29

Robinson, Burton, 34

Robinson, Catherine, 1*n*

Robinson, Charles, 73*n*

Robinson, Charles, Jr., 73*n*

Robinson, H. W., 67, 309

Robinson, James, 321*n*

Robinson, Mary; *see* Mary Robinson Hanson

Robinson, Peter, Sr., 1*n*, 21

Robinson, Peter, II, 4-6, 20, 21, 23-29, 31, 34-36

Robinson, Peter, III, 6, 33, 34

Robinson, Priscilla, 5-6

Robinson, Thomas: death, 5; loyalist activities, 1-36, 321, 338; portrait, opp. 1, 6, 7; property, 1, 6, 23, 24, 29; will, 5-6, 36; writings, 3, 4, 5

Robinson, Thomas (1950), 7*n*, 32*n*

Robinson, Mrs. Thomas (1950), 7*n*, 32*n*

Robinson, Thomas, Jr., 4, 6, 26, 33, 36

Rochambeau, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de, 113, 137, 138, 146

Rodney, Caesar: biography, 1, 12, 61, 369; correspondence, 161, 323; president, 51, 54, 58, 74, 322, 344; silver, 157

Rodney, Caesar Augustus: biography, 107, 214, 354, 358, 359, 362*n*, 368*n*, 369-73; correspondence, 223, 304; death, 372-73; library, 60; minister to Argentina, 222, 223, 385; in politics, 214, 221

Rodney, George Brydges (1st baron, 1719-92), 348

Rodney, Lavinia, 157

Rodney, Richard S., 32*n*, 162, 290, 318*n*, 326

Rodney, Thomas: correspondence, 54;

diary, 61-62, 161; family, 71*n*, 369; military service, 3, 12, 14
Rodney, William, 157
Rodney family, 7*n*
"Roebuck" (Brit. ship), 3, 16, 17, 322, 335, 341, 345, 346, 347, 348
Roelker, William G., 65
Roofs; *see* Architecture
Root, Simon, 259, 263
Rosemont, Martin, 271
Ross, Aeneas, 316
Ross, Betsy, 316
Ross, David, 142
Ross, George, 316, 338
Ross, Robert, 382
Ross family, 338
Rothwell, William, 88*n*
Roueché, Berton, 309
Rowan, George, 14
Roxburg, Alexander, 111*n*, 121, 144
Rubincam, Milton, 64
Rudolph, Frederick, 309
Rush, Benjamin, 71*n*, 308
Rush, Richard, 65
Rushworth, Harry W., 305-6
Russia: minister to, 368-69
*Rustics in Rebellion*, by G. A. Townsend, 164
Rutgers (Queen's) University, 156

Sacred Heart Church, Wilmington, Del., 165
St. Anthony's Church, 65
St. Bede's High School, Wilmington, Del., 165
St. Clair, Arthur, 141, 142, 146
St. George's Chapel (Sussex County), 1, 5, 20; Loyalists, 319
St. John's School for Boys, 64
St. Jones Creek, 26; settlers (1680), 228
St. Joseph's Church on the Bradywine, 65
St. Paul's Methodist Church, Odessa, Del., 87
Saint-Simon Montbléru, Marquis de, 116, 138
Saintonge Regiment, 116
Salem, N. J.: courts, 227, 244
Salem Historical Society of New Jersey, 381
"Sally Ann Townsend" (steamer), 85
Salt: food preservative, 135, 146; prices, 53; springs, 57; Sussex County, 48-60
San Domingo, 375
Sand Hook; *see* New Castle
Sanders, Mrs. Margaret Webb, 385
Sandylands, James, 241
Sanitation: Dutch colony, 300; at Yorktown, 144
Saulsbury, Willard, 162
Savannah, Ga., 320, 330-32
Scammell, Alexander, 110, 128, 133
Schafer, Peter, 306
Schaggen, Jan, 268, 269-70
Schepens: on South (Delaware) River, 233-34
Schoolmasters: Dutch colony, 276, 277, 279-81
Schools: charity, 220; curriculum, 149, 156; degrees, 155; Dutch colony, 280; military, 64; Negro, 41; secondary, 165; tuition, 211*n*; Wilmington, 72*n*; *see also* Academies
Schout: on South (Delaware) River, 233-34, 243, 277
Schut, Jan, 260
"Scorpion" (Brit. sloop), 346, 347
Scotch-Irish: in Delaware, 213, 269, 315
Scott, Mrs. Ann March, 86
Scott, Henry P., III, 381
Scott, Levi, 86, 87*n*
Scott (Schot), Richard (Rosier), 271
Scott, Winfield T., 309
Seabury, Samuel, 36
Seals: Christmas, 311; state, 170, 342, 343
Secker, Thomas, 150*n*
Second Infantry, Delaware, Civil War, 305
Sellers, Francis, 31
Semple, Josyn (Josie) Marshall, 259
Semple, Margaret, 259
Semple, William, 259
Senate, Delaware: journal, 382
Separatist community (Zoar, Ohio), 80, 94
Serle, Ambrose, 322
Shad: fishing, 62
Shannon, Wilson, 39
Sharp, H. Rodney, 61
Sharpless family, 62
Shattor's Island, 5, 29
Shaw, Robert, 305, 379
Shaw, Virginia, 218*n*
Sheep; *see* Agriculture, livestock
Shenton, Edward, 386

Sheriff: English, duties of, 243; *see also* Schout

Sheward, Caleb, 317

Shipley family, 62, 304

Shipping: on Ohio, 93*n*; rowboats, 350; sailors, 319

Ships: "Adamant" (Brit. ship), 346, 347; building, 333; "Chesapeake" (frigate), 216, 371*n*; "Congress" (frigate), 304, 385; "De Fenix" (Fr. ship, prob. Phoenix), 270, 271; "De Grote Christoffel" (Dutch ship), 272; "De Waegh" (Balance, Dutch), 234, 265, 280, 283; "Diana" (Brit.), 317; Dutch, 280, 378; frigates, 216, 297, 304, 385; galiot, 260, 280, 283, 295; galley, 321; gunboats, 217; "Gyllene Haj" (Shark), 264; ketch, 273; "Knotless" (Brit.), 351; "Leopard," 371*n*; "Marquis Lafayette," 108; "Mercurius" (Swe.), 274; "Mesieria" (Brit.), 331; "Neptune," 369; "New Amstel" (galiot), 283; "Orn" (Eagle), 262; packets, 85, 350; "Preston" (Brit. man-of-war), 4, 17; "Prince Maurice" (Dutch), 278; "Prins Willem" (yacht), 256; privateering, 337; "Rachel" (sloop), 351, 352; "Roebuck" (Brit.), 3, 16, 17, 322, 335, 341, 345, 346, 347, 348; "Scorpion" (Brit. sloop), 346, 347; sloops, 260, 346, 347, 350, 351, 352; steamboats, 79, 85, 93, 379; "Vergulde Bever" (Gilded Beaver, Dutch), 278, 279

Silhouettes, 62

Silk industry: New Sweden, 48

Silver: cans, 34; coffee pot, 34; commemorative, 371; in miniature, 306; spectacles, 34; spoons, 34; teapot, 34; watches, 350

Silversmiths: P. Alford, 157; Wessell Alrichs, 311; Piner Mansfield, 99, 382; Stephen Reeves, 157; Robert Ross, 382

Simmons, Isaac, 319

Simmons, Julia, 383

Sinclair, Arthur, 304

Sinepuxent (Sinepuction) Inlet, Md., 26

Skute (Schoete), Sven (Swen), 263, 265, 267

Slater, Mr., 337

Slater, Thomas, 321, 335, 336

*Slave, Autobiography of a Female*, by H. B. Stowe, 46

Slavery: abolitionists, 37-47, 359, 386; Delaware, 163, 222-23; Dutch, 269, 297; fugitives, 22, 39, 43-47, 128-29, 142; Loyalists, 1, 6, 18, 20, 22, 24, 31, 34, 320, 331, 353; marriages, 212; peonage, 307; prices, 18, 31, 43, 333; trade, 75, 376; Negroes in Yorktown, 128-29, 142; *see also* Missouri Compromise

Smallwood, Gen. William, 322

Smidt, Dirck, 266, 267, 268

Smith, Christian, 319

Smith, Daniel, 218*n*

Smith, Ebenezer, 361*n*

Smith, Francis, 271

Smith, Jacob, 324

Smith, Robert, 361

Smith, Samuel, 364

Smith, William, 150, 152*n*

Smith-Hughes Act, 164

Smyrna, Del., 90, 98-99, 382

Smyth, J. F. D., 3

Snow, Silas, 74*n*

Soap, 300

Society of Colonial Dames of America (Delaware), 63, 384

Society of Friends: abolitionists, 37-47, 359, 385-86; Meetinghouse, Wilmington, 108; in New Jersey, 385

Society of Natural History of Delaware, 63, 310

Society of the Order of the Cincinnati, 75, 209

Soissonnais Regiment, 116

Soldan, August, 307, 310

South America: relations with U. S., 371

South River; *see* Delaware River; New Amstel; New Castle

Sparks, George W., 87

Sparks, Mary Elizabeth Moore, 87

Spas: Brandywine Springs, 64

Spinning wheels, 97

Springer, Charles, 63-64, 165

Springer, Courtland B., 63-64, 165

Springer, Ruth L., 63-64, 165

Springs, salt, 57

Spruance, Enoch, 98

Spruance, Presley, 98

Spruance, Mrs. William C., 69*n*, 76, 304

Spruance family, 78

Staats, Abraham, 75*n*, 256

Staelcop, Johan, 267

Stagecoach, 104

State Archives; *see* Public Archives Commission

States' rights, 210

Steamboats; *see* Shipping
Steendam, Jacob, 278, 295
Steenwick, Cornelys, 271
Stephen, Adam, 113
Steuben, Friedrich W. L. G. A., Baron von, 110*n*, 111*n*, 113, 116, 120, 121, 130, 132, 134, 138, 139
Steurs, Oloff, 268, 269
Stevenson, Robert, 31
Stewart, Walter, 110*n*, 111, 112, 115, 121, 131
Stewart family, 165
Steynmets, Casper, 256
Stidham, Tymen, 269, 270
Stidham family, 381
Stite, Mr., 79-80, 102-4
Stockley, Ayres, 98, 99
Stockton, John, 107
Stoudt, John J., 307
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 46
Stradley, Mrs., 82, 95
Straley, George H., 309
Stuart, Gilbert, 219*n*
Stuyvesant, Peter: biography, 254-57; at Fort Casimir, 381; governor, 160, 231, 261, 262, 264-67, 272, 274, 275, 281-85, 287, 289, 290-94, 296, 297, 300, 379, 381
Suffrage: woman, 63
Sulky, 103
Sussex County: churches, 1, 5; Committee of Correspondence, 2, 7, 9, 10, 315; courts, 228-30, 238, 240, 242, 244; Dutch rule, 228; fairs, 164; genealogy, 165; Loyalists, 1-36; names, 229-30; politics, 213; records, 230; salt manufacture, 48-60; shipping, 25-26; size, 228*n*
Swamps: drainage, 21
Swedes: on Delaware River, 238, 240*n*, 269, 274, 276, 282; *see also* New Sweden
Swedish Tercentenary Commission, 61
Swine: at large, 382
Sybrants, Dominicus, 292
Syng, Philip, 306

Tailler, William, 271
Talbot, George, 66
Tallant, Robert, 72, 73*n*
Tamaconck (beaver); *see* New Castle
*Tancopanican Chronicle, 1830-1834*, 162
Tangier's Island, 5, 29
Tanner, Glasgow, 327
Tariff; *see* Commerce, customs
Tarleton, Banastre, 119
Tatlow, Joseph, 49
Tatnall family, 62
Taverns; *see* Hotels, Inns, and Taverns
Taxes: colonial, 243; poll, 241
Taylor, Robert, 335
Taylor (Tailler), William, 271
Tayne, Isaac, 271
Tea: sale, Revolutionary, 2, 8, 15; word meaning supper, 382, 383
Temperance: Delaware laws, 84; for laborers, 92*n*; Maine League, 85; in Ohio, 85, 97
Textiles: linen, 327, 331, 333, 351; looms, 322, 351; *see also* Mills
Theunisseu, Cornelius, 271
Thompson, John, 153
Thomson, Charles, 153
Three Lower Counties; *see* Delaware
Three Runs, 230
Tile House, 259, 310
Through-Fare Point, 324
Till, William, 327
Tilton, James (Timoleon), 62; writings, 3, 4, 14-15, 209
Timber: cedar, 26; logging, 25, 26, 59, 77, 85, 91, 101, 333; pine, 26
"Timoleon"; *see* James Tilton
Titzell, Anne Parrish, 309
Tom, William, 244
Tools: agricultural, 82-83, 92, 296, 327, 329, 332, 347; in Indian trade, 256
Torbert, Peter, 14
Touraine Regiment, 116
Townsend, George Alfred, 164
Tracy, Uriah, 367
Trades: baker, 275; blacksmiths, 34, 95, 259; brickmaker, 299; books, 165; cabinetmakers, 306; clockmakers, 31, 379, 382, 383; comb maker, 319; coopers, 319; coppersmith, 319, 321*n*; cordwainer, 319; engravers, 165; miller, 280; printers, 10, 60, 61; records, 62; silversmiths, 99, 157, 311, 382; tailor, 319; tools, 295; weavers, 319, 322, 351; wheelwright, 62
Transportation: chaise, 327; in Delaware, 163; oxcarts, 22, 53; photographs, 306; riding chair, 327, 337; stage, 104; sulky, 103; wagons, 22, 71, 100, 351
Travel: on foot, 72; by horse, 72, 330; by stage, 104; *see also* Transportation

Treason: charges during Revolution, 317-18
Treaties: English commercial, 369; Ghent, 367-68; Jay, 221
Trees: catalpa, 188; cedar, 26; poulownia, 190; peach, 69, 72*n*, 86, 328, 331; pine, 26; *see also* Timber
Trenton, N. J., 241, 311, 322, 350
Tubman, Harriet, 40, 41-42, 43
Tunnell, James M., Jr., 48-60
Tunnell, Joshua, 57
Tunnell, Nathaniel, 57
Turkey: wild, 77, 89
Turner, C. H. B., 230
Turner, Cornelius, 34
Turnpikes; *see* Roads
Turpin, Joseph, 11
Tussey, William, 321*n*
"Tyrant of Delaware"; *see* George Read

*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 46
Underground Railroad, 37-47
Uniontown, Pa., 90
United Netherlands: colonies, 170; golden age, 248-51; war with England, 296; *see also* Dutch, on Delaware; Fort Casimir, New Amstel, West India Company
United States: attorney-general, 371; relations with South America, 371, 385
United States Army, 115, 373; *see also* Arms and Ammunition, Continental Army
United States Marine Corps, 217
United States Navy, 221, 364
University of Delaware: faculty, 66, 307, 310; Institute of Del. History and Culture, 158; library, 66, 67, 160, 162, 378, 386; publications, 66, 310; *see also* Newark Academy
University of Pennsylvania, 149-50, 152, 156
Upland: churches, 241; courts, 240, 244; *see also* Chester
Urmston, John, 163
Usselinx, William, 253
Utie, Nathaniel, 287

Valley Forge, Pa., 106
Van Beeck, Mr., 280
Van Bergh, Lucas Dircksen, 270
Van Borsum, Egbert, 256
Van Bylvelt, Heydrech, 273
Van Cortlandt, Philip, 111*n*, 120, 136, 140
Van Dieman, William, 296
Van Dieman, Mrs. William, 296
Van Dyke, Ann; *see* Ann Van Dyke Johns
Van Dyke, Cornelius, 145
Van Dyke, Dorcas Montgomery; *see* Dorcas Montgomery Van Dyke duPont
Van Dyke, Enoch, 69, 78, 79, 88, 89, 92, 93, 95, 96, 101, 102
Van Dyke, Gregorius, 240*n*, 263
Van Dyke, Jacob, 71-72, 76, 88, 89, 96, 104
Van Dyke, John, 96
Van Dyke, Judith, 78, 95, 96
Van Dyke, Kensey Johns, 212
Van Dyke, Mary, 76*n*
Van Dyke, Mary Van Leuvenigh, 212
Van Dyke, Milcah (of Ohio), 79, 96, 97
Van Dyke, Milcah Ann; *see* Milcah Ann Van Dyke Moore
Van Dyke, Nicholas, III (1738-1789), 208, 210, 216, 219; Del. president, 5, 32, 325
Van Dyke, Nicholas, IV (1770-1826): biography, 207-26; death, 225-26; portrait, opp. 207
Van Dyke, Nicholas, V, 219
Van Dyke, Polly, 79, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101
Van Elswick, Hendrick, 264
Van Gezel, Cornelis, 235, 236, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291
Van Gezel, Mrs. Cornelis, 290
Van Horn, Isaac, 112
Van Leuvenigh, Mary; *see* Mary Van Leuvenigh Van Dyke
Van Leuvenigh, Zachariah, 212
Van Marcken, Jan Gerritsen, 290
Van Nas, Abraham, 292-93
Van Rasenburg, William (Willem), 289
Van Roijen, J. H., 303, 378
Van Ruyven, Cornelis, 287, 288
Van Rynevelt, Abraham, 234, 279, 286
Van Schaick, Goose, 111*n*
Van Struckhousen, Jan Hendricksen, 271
Van Sweringen, Gerrit, 235, 279, 286, 288, 289, 294
Van Swol, Barent Jansen, 271
Van Tienhoven, Adrian, 261, 263
Van Tienhoven, Cornelis, 257, 274, 275
"Van Zijll" (Dutch ship), 378
Vandergrift, Jacob, 317
Vantiell, Gerrit Saunders, 298

Vent, James, 31
"Vergulde Bever" (Dutch ship), 278, 279
Verhoofe, Cornelius, 230
Vernon, Mr., 335
Vernon, Jacob, 317
Verplanck, Abraham, 256
Victoria, Queen of England, 43
Vincent, Francis, 306
Vincent, Mrs. Francis, Jr., 306
Vining, John, 214
Vinton, S. F., 71*n*
Vioménil, Antoine du Houx, Baron de, 116, 134, 138
Vioménil, Charles du Houx, Comte de, 116, 138
*Vocational Education in Delaware, 1919-1949*, 164
Von Steuben, Baron; *see* Steuben, Friedrich W., Baron von
Vose, Joseph, 110, 111, 121, 145

Waddington, G., 32
Wages; *see* Labor
Wainwright, Nicholas B., 308, 380, 385
Wales, Mrs., 383
Walker, James, 31
Walker, Samuel, 320
Walker, William, 42
Walraven, Jansen, de Vos, 386
Waples, Nathaniel, 30, 31
Waples, Thomas, 31
War of 1812: artillery, 107; declaration, 367; Del. militia, 88*n*, 99*n*; militia, 219; treaty, 367-68
Ward, Christopher L., 66, 107
Warner, Charles, Jr., 382
Warrington, John, 19
Wars; *see* American Revolution, Civil War, Quasi-war with France, War of 1812
Washington, George: aides, 362*n*; death, 373-74; in Delaware, 209; Del. river crossing, 311; portraits, 385; Yorktown campaign, 109, 114, 116, 135, 137, 138, 145
Washington, William, 147
Washington Academy, Md., 163
Waterman, Thomas T., 310
Watson, John, 319, 321, 344-39, 346
Watson, Mrs. John, 321, 338-39, 346
Watson, Peter, 8
Watts, Richard, 92
Way, Nicholas, 62
Wayne, Anthony, 110, 115, 117, 118, 119, 128, 130, 132, 133, 135, 139, 142, 144, 146
Weathervanes: ball and sail, 189
Webber, Jan, 295
Webster, Daniel, 385
Welch, B., 96
Welch, James, 319, 320, 325
Welch (Welsh), Margaret, 320
Weldin, John, 62
Welius, Everardus, 280, 283, 286, 287, 297
Wells, William Hill, 62, 214, 221, 366, 376, 377
Welsh Tract, 66
Wertmuller, Adolph, 165
Weslager, C. A., 64, 164, 311, 384
Wessels, David, 271
West, Robert, 63
West family, 63
West: emigration; *see* Emigration
West India Company: colonies, 249, 250, 252, 264-265, 272, 277, 282, 290, 292, 381; expeditions, 264, 265; fort, 228; officers, 231; ships, 260
West India Fort (Sussex County), 228
West Jersey; *see* New Jersey
West Street Sewer Association (Wilmington), 63
Weston, Mrs. Charles, 382
Whaling: colony at Lewes, 251
Wheat, 22, 26, 70, 73*n*, 82, 83, 327; *see also* Mills
Wheeler, Jan, 271
Whigs: American, 317; Delaware, 1-36; *see also* American Revolution
Whiller; *see* Wheeler
Whippings, public, 229, 238; *see also* Crime
White, John (c1795), 63
White, Peter, 51, 58
White, Samuel: biography, 354, 358, 359, 373-77; in politics, 382
White, Thomas, 320, 373*n*
Whorekill; *see* Lewes; Sussex County
Wicaco: churches, 241
Wigham, Eliza, 37, 38, 42
Wilkie, J., 161
Wilkins, Robert, 111, 112
Willems, Jan, 235, 284, 289
Willer; *see* Wheeler

William, Richard W., 343
William I, of Orange-Nassau, 246-47
William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., 26*n*, 27*n*, 28*n*, 321*n*
Williams, Abraham, 144
Williams, Carl M., 311
Williamsburg, Va., 109
Williamson, Hugh, 153
Willing family, 381
Wills: Thomas Robinson, 33-35
Willson, Joseph; *see* Christopher Wilson
Willson, Simon W., 14
Wilmington, Del.: abolitionists, 42-43; bridges, 216, 218*n*, 305; British occupation, 316, 320, 327, 329, 332, 335; cemeteries, 108; churches, 65, 183, 305; City and County Bldg., 173, 306; Civil War, 306; commerce, 304, 315, 352; Delaware Art Center, 379; Dickinson house, 60; fire companies, 161; fire insurance companies, 98*n*; Friends' Meetinghouse, 108; growth, 311; hospitals, 308; hotels, 104; iron and hardware, 38, 46; landscapes, 305; Loyalists, 319; maps, 161-62, 304; militia, 329; mills, 304, 305, 329; newspapers, 61-62, 70, 72, 75, 85, 216*n*, 304, 306, 383; Old Town Hall, 60, 219*n*, 306; physicians, 311; printers, 60, 65; schools, 41, 64, 72*n*, 165, 370*n*; sewers, 63; societies, 310; yellow fever epidemic (1793), 65
Wilmington, N. C., 349
Wilmington Academy, 72*n*, 370*n*
Wilmington Institute Free Library, 386
*Wilmingtonian and Daily Advertiser*, 61
*Wilmingtonian and Daily Register*, 61
Wilmot, Nova Scotia, 5
Wilson, Christopher, 319, 320, 324, 325, 352, 353
Wilson, David, 107
Wilson, Eliza, 377*n*
Wilson, James, 62, 318, 326-28
Wilson, James Grant, 361*n*
Wilson, John, 156
Wilson, Joseph, 317
Wilson, Mrs. Margaret, 352
Wilson, Matthew, 153
Wilson, Sarah, 157
Wilson, W. Emerson, 159
Wilson, William, 322, 351
Wiltbanck (Wiltbank), Mrs. Abraham, 26
Wiltbanck (Wiltbank), Hermanus, 229
Windell, Marie, 60, 69-104
Windish, Ida T., 161
Witherspoon, John, 150, 210-11
Wolfe, Jonathan, 31
Wolgast, Otto, 229
Wolves: bounty for, 241
Woman suffrage, 63
Women: beauty, 79*n*
Wood, Joseph, 259
Woodford, Frank B., 310
Wooster, Mrs., 338
Workingmen's Associations, 220
Wormley's Creek, Va., 116
Wroth, Lawrence C., 164
Wyler; *see* Wheeler
Wyllys, John Plasgrave, 118

Yale University, 149
Yarnall, John, 63
Yeates, Miss; *see* Mrs. John Watson
Yeates, George, 338
Yeates, John, 338
Yeates family, 338
Yellow Fever epidemic: (1793), 158
Yeo, John, 163
York, Duke of; *see* James II, King of England; Laws, Duke of York
York River, Va., 5, 29, 116
Yorktown, Va., 74, 107-48, 379; campaign, 135; fortifications, 123-27, 129; map, 116; military stores, 140, 147; victory, 137-38, 145, 324

Zanesville, Ohio, 71, 78, 81, 95, 98, 99, 100
Zoar, Ohio, 80, 94